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*EDITOR*

**ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT**

University of Kansas

*ASSOCIATE EDITOR*

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University of Nebraska

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THE POSITION OF THE VERB-ADVERB LOCUTION<sup>1</sup>  
WITH REFERENCE TO THE VERB IN  
THE *ELDER EDDA*

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the positional status of the verb-adverb locution with reference to the verb (with which it is construed) in the *Elder Edda* (exclusive of the prose passages and the *Fragments*).

Since the question of prepositional usage is also involved, only those adverbs which later developed into prepositions will be included in this investigation. The purpose of this restriction is to trace, if possible, the initial stages of the prepositional usage. The prepositional usage is conventionally assumed whenever the adverb locution either directly precedes or directly follows that part of speech with which the adverb is connected (cf. *at hǫllu, hǫllu at*). But there are examples where the adverb is separated from some object locution with which it may be construed, and therefore such examples may serve to illustrate the initial phases<sup>2</sup> of the prepositional usage. Only this type of adverb locution in its prepositional usage (i.e., removed from its object) will be treated in this paper.

Although almost all the locutions under discussion may be conventionally designated as "verbal prefixes" (i.e., adverb locutions necessary for the completion of the verbal idea), there are not a few examples where the adverb locution signifies an *attendant circumstance* (i.e., a part of speech *not* necessary for the completion of the verbal idea; cf. Germ. "er tritt *dabei* ein" with "er tritt ihm *bei*"). An attempt will be made to differentiate an "attendant circumstance" from the "prefixal" usage of the adverb locution, for this syntactical difference may have a bearing upon the word order.

It must be conceded at the outset that the position of the adverb locution may to a degree be due to alliterative and metrical

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this question as applied to the Gic. languages, compare M. H. Roberts "The Antiquity of the Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution," *JEGPh*, xxxv (1936), 466-481. Prof. Roberts' conclusions as to ON word order are based upon prose usage, since the question under discussion has not yet been investigated with reference to ON poetry.

<sup>2</sup> Termed by Roberts (474) as "the incipient prepositional usage."

exigences of ON verse. Nevertheless, in spite of such minor restrictions—adverbial particles rarely carry the alliterative stress—the poet had much more liberty as regards word order than did the (later) prose writer, whose order of words had suffered a more or less conventional restriction.

The *Elder Edda*, therefore, affords us the most suitable material available for tracing the earliest positional usage of the verb-adverb locution in ON. Skaldic poetry represents a secondary Scan. development, which obscures any semblance of the earliest ON word order.

In the following investigation I shall employ the same terminology for the position of the adverb in relation to the verb as does Professor Roberts (467):

a) *Pre-contiguous* (*Over tumbled the vase*).

b) *Post-contiguous* (*The wind turned over the vase*).

c) *Pre-removed* (*Over with disastrous effect did the wind turn the vase*).

d) *Post-removed* (*The wind turned the vase over*).

The colorless particles ("Füllwörter") *of* and *um(b)*, as well as the preposition *at* with the infinitive, will not<sup>3</sup> be regarded as separating the adverb locution from the verb.

Quotations are from the text of Gering's fourth edition of the *Elder Edda* and abbreviations are in conformity with Gering's. Repeated passages will not be counted separately. The translation of the ON passages will necessarily be literal (and therefore crude), in order to bring out the positional status of the adverb locution.

I. *Á* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) '*At, On, By*'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

1) *sem þat á reistk* (Skm. 37, 3)

"As I carved that on."

2) *á<sup>4</sup> sér þat illa* (Am. 41, 2)

<sup>3</sup> This procedure is due to the fact that neither the conventional particles *of* and *um(b)* nor the preposition *at* with the infinitive add any appreciable sense to the verbal idea.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Roberts states (478): "It [the initial adverb] does not occur, so far as the writer knows, in Gothic, Old High German, Norse, or Old English." For "initial adverb" Prof. Roberts evidently means "initial adverb in *pre-removed*

"One hardly notices that on [you]."

- 3) *á gengusk eipar* (Vsp. 26, 3)

"Oaths were *trampled on*" = "Oaths were *violated*."

- 4) *svá vas á vísat* (Am. 12, 3)

"Thus it was *pointed at* (*hinted at*)."

- 5) *á munu þér iþrar* (Am. 65, 2)

Thou shalt have *regrets for* [this]."

The adverb locution *á* is here directly connected with the noun *iþrar* (*iþrar á* = 'regrets for'). The verbal idea is represented by *munu iþrar* (= *iþrask*).

- 6) *þeir á létu* (Vkv. 11, 1)

"They *left* [rings] *on* [the string]."

- 7) *jöftrar þeirs á lögðu bestistma* (Vkv. 15, 1)

"The warriors who *laid* the fetter *on* [me]."

- 8) *þérs vöru á ristnar* (Sd. 18, 1)

"Those which were *carved on*."

b) *Post-contiguous.*

- 1) *tífi 'rumk á* (Höf. 108, 1)

"I *am in doubt about* [it]."

For *tífi á* with the substantive verb compare *á iþrar*; a, 5 above.

c) *Pre-removed.*

- 1) *á sék ausask* (Vsp. 27, 3)

"I see [the tree Yggdrasil] *poured upon* (*watered*)."

- 2) *á mun nú góða* (Am. 67, 3)

"It will now continue to increase."

With *á góða* compare Germ. *zunehmen*, Swed. *tilltaga*.

- 3) *bjarg . . . es ek sé brúpi á*

*þjóðmæra þruma* (Fj. 35, 3)

"The mountain *which* I see the famous maiden *resting on*."

If we may construe *es* as an adverbial relative 'which,' and

position," since all his examples of "initial adverb" are in this position (cf. his model ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε, *off* the mantle he *threw*). To be sure, this position does not occur in ON prose (cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Grm.*,<sup>2</sup> §503, 1.2.3), but the results of the present investigation show *seven* examples of this position in the *Elder Edda* (cf. Table 1, p. 16).

not as the adverb 'where,' then the adverbial locution *á* may be regarded as an incipient preposition. The difference between the locative and the relative sense of *es* is purely conventional.

d) *Post-removed.*

- 1) *jötunn es ór steini vas höfuð á* (Hrbl. 15, 2)

"The giant, whom the head of stone *was on*."

The adverb locution *á* here represents a clear case of an incipient preposition in final position (cf. Roberts, 478-9, "The terminal adverb").

The occurrences for *á* are: pre-contiguous 8, post-contiguous 1, pre-removed 3, post-removed 1.

II. *Af* (Prep. with Dat.) 'Off, From'

a) *Pre-contiguous.*

- 1) *af væri nú hausuð* (Hm. 26, 1)

"Off now *would be* his head."

- 2) [*baugar*] *es af drjúpa* (Skm. 21, 3)

"Rings that *drip off*."

- 3) *svá af ristk* (Skm. 37, 3)

"Thus I *scratch off*."

- 4) *allar [rúnar] vöru af skafnar* (Sd. 18, 1)

"All the runes were *shaved off*."

b) *Post-contiguous.*

- 1) *sneip af hausuð* (Vk. 24, 3; 36, 3)

"I *cut off* the head."

- 2) *þás hefja af hvera* (Grm. 42, 4)

"When they *raise off* the kettles."

- 3) *naut vöru þrin*, / *nutum af stórum* (Am. 88, 3)

"There was much cattle, they *partook of* [them] heartily."

c) *Pre-removed.*

- 1) [*hirtir*] *þeirs af hefingar á . . . gnaga* (Grm. 33, 1)

"Stags that *gnaw off* the twigs (?) on [the tree Yggdrasil]."

d) *Post-removed.*

- 1) *fá fegnun af* (Hqv. 130, 5)

"Have pleasure *from* [them]."

- 2) *brá styrir stafnstjöldum af* (HH. I, 27, 1)

"The hero *let down* his tents."

The occurrences for *af* are: pre-contiguous 4, post-contiguous 3, pre-removed 1, post-removed 2.

III. *At* (Prep. with Dat.) 'At, To, Towards'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

- 1) *etki at réþusk* (Am. 45, 4)

"They accomplished nothing thereby."

*At*=attendant circumstance (cf. Germ. "Sie richteten dabei nichts aus").

- 2) *þaxar at lögðu* (Am. 38, 2)

"They laid their axes on [him]."

b) *Post-contiguous*.

- 1) *leiþ at huga* (Grp. 12, 3)

"Direct thine attention to [it]."

- 2) *óttumk at dísir* (Hm. 26, 3)

"The norms drove [me] to [it]."

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).

d) *Post-removed*.

- 1) *kveðu þat bqlvi at* (Hqv. 127, 4)

"Attribute that to evil intent."

The adverb locution *at* does not represent a post-positive preposition with *bqlvi* but a prefix to the verb *kveðu* (cf. Germ. "Sprich das der Bosheit zu").

The occurrences for *at* are: pre-contiguous 2, post-contiguous 2, pre-removed none, post-removed 1.

IV. *Eptir* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'After, Behind'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

- 1) *sás eptir ferr* (Fj. 27, 3; 28, 1)

"He who goes after (=to get) [something]."

- 2) *ill íþgjöld / lét hana eptir hafa* (Hqv. 106, 3)

"Ill reward I let her have after (=in return)."

- 3) *eptir lífa ellifu* (Am. 50, 4)

"Eleven live afterwards (survive, nachleben)."

- 4) *ok eptir varp óbilgjörnum* (Sg. 22, 2)

"He threw [his weapon] after the undaunted [hero]."

The adverb locution *eptir* is here associated with both the verb *varp* and the dative *óbilgjörnum* and hence may be construed as an incipient preposition (cf. Germ. "Er warf dem Unerschrockenen nach").

- 5) *låtíð engi mann / eptir sitja* (HH. I, 53, 4)

"Let no man remain behind."

- b) *Post-contiguous.*

- 1) *líta eptir* (Grp. 21, 2), "to look after (=review)."

- c) *Pre-removed.*

- 1) *eptir es þrungit ykkur þjóðkonunga* (Hm. 5, 2)

"Ye mighty kings have been thrust behind (pushed aside)."

- d) *Post-removed.*

- 1) *lífa mun þat eptir* (Am. 99, 3)

"That shall live afterwards (survive)."

- 2) *en ókátr Níðqþr sat þá eptir* (Vk. 40, 2)

"Sad Nithuth then remained behind."

- 3) *Spyrið lítt eptir* (Am. 73, 1)

"Inquire a little after (about) [it]." Cf. Germ. *nachfragen*.

- 4) *sú mun erfð eptir* (Am. 65, 3)

"This shall be the inheritance [left] after [thee]."

Occurrences for *eptir* are: pre-contiguous 5, post-contiguous 1, pre-removed 1, post-removed 4.

V. *Frá* (Prep. with Dat.) 'From, Concerning'

The only example of a purely adverbial usage is:

- a) *Pre-contiguous.*

- 1) *áðr þeir frá hyrði* (Am. 34, 4)

"Before they turned away."

But we have two examples of incipient post-removed preposition:

- 1) *þrögum ykkrum / skylið aldrigi / segja seggjum frá* (Ls. 25, 1.2), "Your adventures ye should never tell men about."

- 2) *austrföllum þínum / skaltu aldrigi / segja seggjum frá* (Ls. 60, 1.2), "Thy travels to the East thou shalt never tell men about."

VI. *Fyrir* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'Before; On Account of; For'

- a) *Pre-contiguous.*

- 1) *sem fyrir mælik* (Am. 31, 4)

"As I prophesy." Cf. Germ. *voraussagen*.

- 2) *þats fyrir vissak* (Grp. 19, 3)

"That which I *knew before*."

- 3) *en allir fyrir / skjalfa garðar Gymis* (Skm. 14, 3.4)

"Gymir's whole house *shakes from (on account of)* [it]."

*Fyrir* = *davor, dabei*; an attendant circumstance.

- 4) *þats knegi Viðofnir fyrir / hníga* . . . (Fj. 25, 3.4)

"Which Vithofnir *falls before*."

*Fyrir* = incipient preposition with adverbial relative object  
es (*þats*).

- 5) *þó lét hann falla / ok fyrir hníga* (Hrbl. 15, 3)

"Then he made him [the giant] *fall and sink down before* [him]."

b) *Post-contiguous* (no examples).

c) *Pre-removed*.

- 1) *svát fold fyrir forn skjalfabi* (Grt. 12, 2)

"So that the old earth *shook for (on account of)* [it]."

*Fyrir* = attendant circumstance (see a, 3 above).

d) *Post-removed*.

- 1) *lagt's allt fyrir* (Grp. 24, 3)

"Everything is *determined beforehand*."

- 2) *þrlog sín viti engi fyrir* (Höf. 56, 3)

"Let no one *know* his fate *beforehand*."

- 3) *sér Sigurðar snor brögð fyrir* (Grp. 10, 3)

"Thou dost *see* Sigurd's brave deeds *beforehand*."

- 4) *þvít öll of sér þrlog fyrir* (Grp. 28, 4)

"Since thou dost *see* all fate *beforehand*."

- 5) *svá nýsisk fróþra hverr fyrir* (Höf. 7, 4)

"Thus every wise man *spies for* [himself]" =  
"*Spies for* his own advantage (i.e., to protect himself)."

*Nýsisk fyrir* = *nýsir fyrir sér*.

- 6) *hefisk lind fyrir* (Vsp. 50, 1)

"He *holds* his shield *before* [himself]."

- 7) *brinnumk feldr fyrir* (Grm. 1, 4)

"The cloak *burns* before [me]."

In examples 5, 6, 7, where the reflexive form of the verb occurs, the adverb locution *fyrir* on account of its post-removed position from its object (*-sk = sér*; *-mk = mér*) may be classified as an incipient preposition.

- 8) *Ef skalk fyrþa liði / telja tíva fyrir* (Höf. 160, 1.2)  
 "If I shall recount to men [a list of] the gods."  
*Telja fyrir = aufzählen.*
- 9) *Stendr súl fyrir* (Hym. 12, 2)  
 "A pillar *stands in front.*"
- 10) *reið ein fyrir / . . . mér* (H Hv. 28, 1.2)  
 "A maid . . . *rode alone in front.*"
- 11) *hví þú þá / . . . mælisk af golfi fyrir* (Vm. 9, 1)  
 "How thou dost *speak . . . from the floor in front.*"
- 12) *hvar óvinir / sitja á fleti fyrir* (Höf. 1, 4.5)  
 "Where enemies *sit on the floor before [one].*"
- 13) *ok látt í fjarþar mynni fyrir* (H Hv. 18, 2)  
 "Thou didst *lie in the mouth of the fjord before [us].*"
- 14) *þeir sitja inni fyrir* (Höf. 133, 1)  
 "They who *sit inside before [one].*" Cf. 12, above.
- 15) *liggja nam / hafr . . . / halfdauðr fyrir* (Hym. 38, 1.2)  
 "The goat *lay . . . half-dead before [them].*"
- 16) *stóð at hvóro / hverr kyrr fyrir* (Hym. 34, 4)  
 "The kettle *stood nevertheless unmoved before [him].*"
- 17) *sat bergbúi / barnsteitr fyrir* (Hym. 2, 1)  
 "The mountain-giant *stood happy as a child before [them].*"
- 18) *þars uxi stóð / alsvartr fyrir* (Hym. 19, 2)  
 "Where the ox *stood quite black before [them].*"
- 19) *sat en alsnotra / ambótt fyrir* (Þrk. 26, 1; 28, 1)  
 "The clever servant *sat before [them].*"
- 20) *stókr lúpr fyrir* (HH II, 2, 4)  
 "The hand-mill *flies apart on account of [it].*"



*Fyrir*=attendant circumstance (cf. *skjalfa fyrir*: a, 3; c, 1 above).

- 21) *es bápi galt / börn sín fyrir* (Hym. 39, 4)  
 "Who paid both his children (in return) for [it]."
- 22) *ef vissak þat fár fyrir* (Rm. 7, 4)  
 "If I had known that evil prophecy before."
- 23) *lá mér af þsku / því þinnar ljósast fyrir / líta eftir* (Grp. 21, 1.2)  
 "It lay clearest before me to review the youth of thy life" = "The clearest part of thy life for me to review was thy youth."

Here the adverb location *fyrir* is associated with both the verb *lá* (cf. *liggja* . . . *fyrir*, 13, 15 above) and the dative pronoun *mér* and hence may be construed as an incipient preposition.

- 24) *hyggsk vétr hvatr fyrir* (Ls. 15, 4)  
 "A brave man has fear of nothing (= takes no account of anything)." *Vétr* is here an adverb, not a noun object of *fyrir*.

The occurrences for *fyrir* are: pre-contiguous 5, post-contiguous none, pre-removed 1, post-removed 24. Of these there are 3 attendant circumstances (a, 3; c, 1; d, 20). The preponderance of the post-removed position cannot be attributed to the alliterative stress, for in only 4 examples (d, 5, 7, 12, 22) out of the total 24 in post-removed position does *fyrir* bear the alliterative stress.

#### VII. *Í* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'In(to)'

##### a) Pre-contiguous.

- 1) *ef í gþrisk nekkvat* (Am. 29, 4)  
 "If anything [evil] is done in [it]." = "If any evil is connected with [it = *gests kváma*]."
- 2) *es í sǫu* (Vkv. 21, 2)  
 "When they looked in." Similarly 3:
- 3) *es í litu* (Vkv. 24, 2)

##### b) Post-contiguous.

- 1) *leitabak í líkna* (Am. 45, 1)  
 "I sought therein (thereby) means for saving [you]."

*Í*=attendant circumstance.

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).

d) *Post-removed* (no examples).

Occurrences for *í* are: pre-contiguous 3, post-contiguous 1, pre-removed none, post-removed none; one attendant circumstance.

VIII. [*Á*] *Milli* (Secondary Prep. with Gen.) 'Between'

a) *Pre-contiguous* (no examples).

b) *Post-contiguous*.

1) *gengu á milli* / *grímmar urðir* (Sg. 5, 4)

"There came between (intervened) evil fate."

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).

d) *Post-removed*.

1) *at vas garðr milli* (Am. 39, 2)

"So that a fence was between (interposed)."

2) *bórusk róg milli* (Am. 91, 3)

"They had aroused strife between [you]."

The occurrences for [*á*] *milli* are: pre-contiguous none, post-contiguous 1, pre-removed none, post-removed 2.

IX. *Ór* (Prep. with Dat.) 'Out of'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

1) *unz ór varð jögunn* (Vm. 31, 2)

"Until the giant grew out of [the drops of poison]."

b) *Post-contiguous*.

1) *skerð ór hjarta* (Am. 55, 2)

"Cut out his heart."

c) *Pre-removed*.

1) *ór es þar brunnit* (Am. 50, 4)

"There something has burned out." = "Severe losses have been sustained."

d) *Post-removed*.

1) *slíta sjónir ór* (Fj. 45, 2)

"[The ravens] shall tear out his eyes."

The occurrences for *ór* are: pre-contiguous 1, post-contiguous 1, pre-removed 1, post-removed 1.

X. *Til* (Prep. with Gen.) 'To; In Respect to; Towards'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

1) *Gör sem til lystir* (Am. 56, 1)

"Do as thou *pleasest* in [this regard]."

- 2) *ok Hogni til sagði* (Akv. 6, 1)

"And [Gunnar] *told* it to (informed) Hogni."

*Hogni* represents a dative, indirect object after *sagði*, and not a genitive object of the preposition *til*; cf. Swed. *tillsäga*, Germ. *zusagen*. Similarly 3:

- 3) *Atla til segja* (Am. 75, 1)

"In order to *tell* it to Atli."

- 4) *flátt es til sþkja* (Am. 36, 1)

"It is dangerous to *try* to *get* to [that place]."

- 5) *fleiri til vöru / hólfsu huskarlar* (Am. 27, 3)

"There *were* twice as many house-servants *left over*." Cf. Swed. *vara till*.

b) *Post-contiguous*.

- 1) *Bjóþiþ til ornum* (Am. 55, 4)

"Command the snakes to [attack him]."

- 2) *brugðu til knífi* (Am. 59, 1)

"They *set* (moved) their knives *onto* [him]."

- 3) *þar vas fjöldi fear, / fengu til margir* (Am. 88, 4)

"There was much treasure, many *put* [their hands] *on* [it]." Cf. Germ. *zugreifen*.

- 4) *Ef, vinr! vélar / vit gþrvum til* (Hym. 6, 2)

"If, friend, we *use* cunning to [that end]." Cf. Germ. *zubereiten*.

- 5) *sóusk til stípan* (Am. 33, 1)

"They *looked towards* [each other] afterwards."

Since the reflexive suffix *-sk* never represents the genitive of the reflexive pronoun (*sín*), we can hardly construe *til* here as an incipient preposition (cf. VI. *Fyrir*; d, 5, 6, 7).

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples)

d) *Post-removed*.

- svá hættak hqfði til* (Hqv. 105, 4)

"Thus I *risked* my head *on* [it]."

The occurrences for *til* are: pre-contiguous 5, post-contiguous 5, pre-removed none, post-removed 1.

XI. *Umb* (Prep. with Acc.) 'Around, About; Concerning'

a) *Pre-contiguous*.

- 1) **umb skoþask skyli** (Hóv. 1, 2)  
"He should *look around*." Similarly 2:
  - 2) **umb skygnask skyli** (Hóv. 1, 3)  
"He should *gaze around*."
  - 3) *þau es . . . skyldu . . . umb faþmask* (Akv. 43, 4)  
"When they were about . . . to *throw their arms about* [each other]."
  - 4) **umb sôusk** (Vkv. 6, 4)  
"They *looked around* [at each other]."
  - 5) *íllt es umb lítask* (Am. 50, 2)  
"It is a sad sight to *look around* [at one another]."
  - 6) *rêþ Jarþar burr / umb at þreifask* (þrk. 1, 4)  
"The son of Earth did *fumble about*."
- b) *Post-contiguous*.
- 1) **ræþr umb víþ sik** (Fm. 33, 1)  
"[[Regin] *takes counsel* with himself *about* [it]]" =  
"He *deliberates about* [it]."
  - 2) **né kveina umb / sem konur aþrar** (Grþ. I, 1, 4; II, 11, 4)  
"Nor [did she] *lament about* [it] like other women."
- c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).
- d) *Post-removed*.
- 1) **þylsk hann umb** (Hóv. 17, 2)  
"He *mumbles around* [to himself]."

The occurrences for *umb* are: pre-contiguous 6, post-contiguous 2, pre-removed none, post-removed 1. Of these, all but two (post-contiguous) represent incipient prepositions with the reflexive suffix-pronoun of the verb (cf. VI, *Fyrir*; d, 5, 6, 7).

## XII. *Undir* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'Under'

- a) *Pre-contiguous*.
- 1) **allr ása salr / undir biþþisk** (þrk. 12, 2)  
"The whole hall of the gods *trembled beneath*."
  - 2) **yfir ok undir stóþumk jötna vegir** (Hóv. 105, 3)  
"Above and below [me] *stood* the roads of the giants."

*Undir* = incipient preposition with reflexive verb.

- 3) **han hefr . . . undir þrungizk** (HH. II, 23, 4)

"He has forced . . . under [himself], subjected."

*Undir* = incipient preposition with reflexive verb.

- 4) *svá vas á vlsat, / sem undir vári*

*bani ykkarr beggja* (Am. 12, 3)

"Thus it was hinted how the death of you both  
was underneath (in store for you)."

- b) *Post-contiguous* (no examples).

- c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).

- d) *Post-removed*.

- 1) *flátt vas þó undir* (Am. 36, 3)

"Deception, however, was underneath." Cf. a, 4  
above.

- 2) *gróftu svá undir, / górbít hlut þiggja* (Am. 90, 3)

"Thou didst so dig under (undermine) [it] that one  
(= I) received nothing."

Occurrences for *undir* are: pre-contiguous 4, post-contiguous none, pre-removed none, post-removed 2.

XIII. *Við(r)* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'Against; Again, In Return'

- a) *Pre-contiguous*.

- 1) *hvat han skal við kveða* (Hóv. 26, 3)

"What he shall say in reply." Cf. Germ. *erwidern*.  
Similarly 2:

- 2) *hórskrýdd kona . . . orþ við of kvað* (Sg. 50, 2)

"The linen-clad woman . . . did speak words in  
reply."

- 3) *ef þú við þegir* (Sd. 25, 1)

"If thou art silent in reply."

- 4) *litt mun við bótast / hluti hvárigra* (Am. 96, 1)

"The lot of us both will be little improved by [this  
quarrel]."

\* Sijmons-Gering (*Kommentar* II, 405) call attention to the fact that the verb *grafa undir* is otherwise used only in ecclesiastical literature, as a translation of Lat. *supplantare*; similarly the substantives *undirgröftr* = *supplantatio* and *undirgrefill* = *supplantator*. The use of *grafa undir* in Am. 90, 3 indicates that the verb developed a metaphorical sense in the native ON idiom, independent of Latin influence.

*Við* = 'in connection with, by, through'; attendant circumstance.

- 5) *þeiri vas við brughit* (Am. 48, 1)

"This [quarrel] was extolled."

*Brughit* = 'raised up, emphasized': *við* = 'to [some one].'

- 6) *ef han við rétti* (Am. 59, 4)

"If by [that] he might better his lot (= save his life)."

*Við* = *dadurch*; attendant circumstance (cf. 4 above).

- 7) *Ek mundi þér þat veita, / ef ek viðr of kvémumk*  
(Hrbl. 33, 1)

"I would grant thee that, if I should ever get to [it]."

b) *Post-contiguous.*

- 1) *ok gullu við gæss* (Grþ. I, 15, 3; Sg. 29, 4)

"And the geese cackled in reply (in turn)."

- 2) *at kvóðu við kalkar* (Sg. 29, 3)

"So that the cups resounded in turn."

- 3) *þá hraut við rásir* (Hm. 24, 1)

"Then the prince roared in turn."

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).

d) *Post-removed* (no examples).

Occurrences for *við(r)* are: pre-contiguous 7, post-contiguous 3, pre-removed none, post-removed none. Of the pre-contiguous, 2 at least (a, 4, 6) represent an attendant circumstance.

XIV. *Yfir* (Prep. with Dat. or Acc.) 'Over'

a) *Pre-contiguous.*

- 1) *ís [skal leyfa] es yfir kómr* (Höf. 81, 3)

"Ice shall one praise when he gets over [it]."

With *yfir kómr* compare Germ. *hinüberkommen*.

- 2) *yfir ok undir stóþumk jætna vegir* (Höf. 105, 3)

"Above and below [me] stood the roads of the giants."

*Yfir* is parallel to *undir* and may, therefore, be considered, like *undir* (cf. XII, a, 2), as pre-contiguous. *Yfir* = incipient preposition with reflexive verb.

- 3) *þar þaf einn þegn / yfir at ríða* (Hlr. 10, 3)

"There a certain warrior begged [permission] to ride over there (*hinüberzureiten*)."

4) *knúttir yfir binda* (Sg. 32, 4)

"Thou wouldst *bind over* (= make a bandage over the wounds)."

b) *Post-contiguous.*1) *unnir glymja yfir* (Grm. 7, 2)

"Waves *rush (roar) over (past)*."

2) *eiga þín ǫll, es hér inni es,*

*leiki yfir logi* (Ls. 65, 3.4)

"All thy property, which is in here, may flame *play over*."

Here an anacoluthon occurs. *Eiga þín ǫll* is in the nom. case, used proleptically for emphasis. Logically the nom. case is object of the preposition *yfir* (cf. *flýgr vǫll yfir*, Vsp. 66, 3); syntactically *yfir* must be construed as an adverb locution (prefix) associated with the verb *leiki*. Cf. 3:

3) *ok leikr yfir lindar vápi* (Fm. 43, 2)

"And the flame is *playing over* [her, Brynhild]."

c) *Pre-removed* (no examples).d) *Post-removed.*1) *ok þú lagðir lár yfir* (Ls. 20, 4)

"And thou didst *lay* thy thigh *over* [him]."

2) *flýgr ǫrn yfir* (Vsp. 59, 3)

"The eagle *flies over* [the water-falls]."

3) *ok drúpr ǫrn yfir* (Grm. 10, 4)

"And the eagle *droops over* [the door]."

4) *liggr skjöldr yfir* (Bdr. 7, 2)

"The shield *lies over* [the kettle]."

5) *þeirars lögþumk arm yfir* (Höf. 108, 4)

"Who *laid* her arm *over* me."

*Yfir*=incipient preposition with reflexive verb.

Occurrences for *yfir* are: pre-contiguous 4, post-contiguous 3, pre-removed none, post-removed 5.

### Conclusions

(a) The frequency of occurrence of the fourteen adverb locutions treated in the four different positions with reference to the verb may be summarized by the following table:

TABLE I

	<i>Pre-contiguous</i>	<i>Post-contiguous</i>	<i>Pre-removed</i>	<i>Post-removed</i>
I. <i>Á</i>	8	1	3	1
II. <i>Af</i>	4	3	1	2
III. <i>At</i>	2	2	0	1
IV. <i>Eptir</i>	5	1	1	4
V. <i>Frá</i>	1	0	0	0
VI. <i>Fyrir</i>	5	0	1	24
VII. <i>I</i>	3	1	0	0
VIII. [ <i>Á</i> ] <i>milli</i>	0	1	0	2
IX. <i>Ór</i>	1	1	1	1
X. <i>Til</i>	5	5	0	1
XI. <i>Umb</i>	6	2	0	1
XII. <i>Undir</i>	4	0	0	2
XIII. <i>Við(r)</i>	7	3	0	0
XIV. <i>Yfir</i>	4	3	0	5
Total	55	23	7	44

Of the 129 examples recorded the percentage for the four different positions of the adverb-verb locution is as follows:

- a) *Pre-contiguous* 42½ per cent
- b) *Post-contiguous* 18 per cent
- c) *Pre-removed* 5½ per cent
- d) *Post-removed* 34 per cent

We see that the *pre-contiguous* position has a comfortable margin over all the other positions. This fact agrees<sup>6</sup> with the normal *pre-contiguous* position of the verbal prefix not only in Gothic, the oldest Gic. language, but also in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. The trend toward the postpositive position<sup>7</sup> in ON (exemplified also in German) is seen by the relatively high percentage (34%) of the *post-removed* position. Another remarkable fact is the lowest percentage (5½%) of the *pre-removed* position, which does not occur at all in ON prose.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Roberts, 469-472. Cf. the *pre-fixal* Goth. *at-gaggan*, Grk. *προςβαλιν*, Lat. *ad-ire*, Skr. *prā gacchati*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Roberts, 475.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Roberts 475; Heusler, *ibid.*, §503.



The evidence shows, then, that in the *Elder Edda* the adverb locution represents a positional status (with reference to the verb) much nearer to that which we may assume for PGic. conditions than in ON prose but nevertheless reveals a *distinct trend* towards the more or less definite patterns which later obtained in prose usage.

(b) *Attendant Circumstance.*

It is often impossible to draw a hard and fast line between an "attendant circumstance" and a verbal "prefixal" usage. I have here included only those examples which I have thus designated in my text as "attendant circumstance," although I am fully aware of the fact that other occurrences of the adverb locution might well be construed as belonging to this category.

TABLE II

	<i>Pre-contiguous</i>	<i>Post-contiguous</i>	<i>Pre-removed</i>	<i>Post-removed</i>
1. <i>At</i>	1	0	0	0
2. <i>Fyrir</i>	1	0	1	1
3. <i>f</i>	0	1	0	0
4. <i>Við(r)</i>	2	0	0	0
Total	4	1	1	1

Again, the *pre-contiguous* position predominates over all other positions, which fact indicates that there was probably no material difference in the position of an adverb locution whether felt as an attendant circumstance or as a verbal prefix.

It should be noted that the adverb locution denoting an attendant circumstance underwent a semantic change from the originally locative to the metaphorical sense: e.g., *fyrir* 'before' > 'on account of' (*fyrir skjálfa*, Sk. 14, 3); *at* 'to, at' > 'in connection with' (*etki at répusk*, Am. 45, 4); *við* 'against, near by' > 'by means of' (*við rétti*, Am. 59, 4), etc.

(c) *Incipient Prepositions.*

The incipient prepositions (removed from their objects and thus denoting the first stages of the transition from adverb to preposition) consist of two distinct types: viz., (1) those con-

strued with a reflexive verb, whose suffix (*-sk*, *-mk*) denotes that part of speech with which the prepositional usage is construed, and (2) those not construed with a reflexive verb.

(1) *Reflexive Verbs.*

Inasmuch as the prepositional object is inherent in the reflexive suffix, the position of the adverb locution must be restricted to its relation to the verb.

TABLE III

	<i>Pre-contiguous</i>	<i>Post-contiguous</i>	<i>Pre-removed</i>	<i>Post-removed</i>
1. <i>Umb</i>	6	0	0	1
2. <i>Fyrir</i>	0	0	0	3
3. <i>Yfir</i>	0	0	0	1
Total	6	0	0	5

The *pre-contiguous* and the *post-removed* positions predominate, just as in the case of the total numbers of adverb locutions (55/44, see Table I).

(2) *Not Construed with Reflexive Verbs.*

Since incipient prepositions may be construed either with the verb or with an object, they shall be treated here with reference to both these parts of speech.

TABLE IV

<i>Verb</i>				
	<i>Pre-contiguous</i>	<i>Post-contiguous</i>	<i>Pre-removed</i>	<i>Post-removed</i>
1. <i>Á</i>	1	0	0	1
2. <i>Eptir</i>	1	0	0	0
3. <i>Frá</i>	0	0	0	2
4. <i>Fyrir</i>	1	0	0	1
Total	3	0	0	4

Again, the *pre-contiguous* and the *post-removed* positions predominate.

## Object

All the seven occurrences of these incipient prepositions are in *post-removed* position with reference to their objects except one: *post-removed* 1) *es . . . á þruma* (Fj. 35, 3.4), 2) *þats knegi Víðofnir fyrir hnita* (Fj. 25, 3.4), 3) *es var . . . höfuðit á* (Hrbl. 15, 2), 4) *þrögum . . . segja . . . frá* (Ls. 25, 1.2), 5) *austrförum . . . segja . . . frá* (Ls. 60, 1.2), 6) *lá mér . . . fyrir* (Grp. 21, 1.2); *pre-removed* 1) *eptir varp óbilgjörnum* (Sg. 23, 2).

The evidence indicates that the least frequent position of the preposition was *pre-removed* (one example) from its object, which fact accords with the percentage recorded for the *pre-removed* position of the purely adverbial locution with reference to the verb (cf. Table I). The post-positive trend of the adverbial locution with reference to the verb tended to separate the preposition from its object, the end result of which was the frequently occurring *post-contiguous* preposition (cf. the type *þýgr völl yfir*).

Since the evidence in the *Elder Edda* shows that the preposition with reference to its object occurs least often (1) in *pre-removed* position, more often (2) in *post-removed* position, still more often (3) in *post-contiguous*<sup>9</sup> position, and finally, in order to differentiate the *prepositional* from the *adverbial* usage, most often (4) in *pre-contiguous*<sup>10</sup> position, we may tentatively<sup>11</sup> assume the transition of adverb to preposition according to the following successive stages: (1) *frá* (. . .)<sup>12</sup> *segja fœrum* or *segja frá . . . fœrum* > (2) *fœrum* (. . .) *segja frá* or *segja fœrum . . . frá* > (3) *segja fœrum frá* > (4) *segja frá fœrum*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the numerous examples of *post-contiguous* position in Gering's *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda* (1903).

<sup>10</sup> Gering (*ibid.*) shows an overwhelming preponderance of the *pre-contiguous* position for the preposition, which fact proves that already in the *Elder Edda* this position represents the end result of the prepositional usage of the adverb locution, just as in ON prose and in the other Gic. languages.

<sup>11</sup> It is not possible to *prove* that the frequency of position recorded for these adverb locutions corresponds exactly to the various stages assumed. The earliest usages (1 and 2) were undoubtedly very rare, but the latest stages (3 and 4) are clearly established.

<sup>12</sup> The designation (. . .) indicates that some word(s) may or may not intervene.

The evidence for (1) and (2) is so slight in comparison with (3) and (4) that we may assume that the *removed* position of the preposition was even in poetry felt to be unnatural and that therefore the preposition had in normal usage virtually reached the positional status of prose usage.

For the foregoing investigation I make no claim to absolute completeness—there are no doubt many omissions—nevertheless the evidence is sufficient to show the general positional trend of the verb-adverb locution in the *Elder Edda*. Prof. Roberts (*ibid.*) has noted these general trends in ON prose and in the other Gic. languages. But his conclusions are not based upon a detailed investigation of the evidence, and such an investigation is necessary before we can with any scientific accuracy determine exactly what was the positional status of the verb-adverb locution in any given language at a certain period in poetry<sup>13</sup> or in prose. So far as the *Elder Edda* is concerned, it no doubt covers a period of many centuries, but poetry is linguistically conservative and its archaic status does not correspond to the chronological measurement. Heusler (*ibid.*, §503) points out certain *obvious* differences between poetry and prose with reference to the position of the verb-adverb locution. But the present investigation shows the *relative frequency* of these positions in a large body of ON poetry and thus brings us nearer to a scientific knowledge of the development from the earliest (poetical) to the later (prose) usage. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that this development was to any appreciable degree affected by the influence of ecclesiastical Latin or Greek, which, as Roberts points out (472–473), was the case in Old English and Old High German prose. If we could correlate the results of the present investigation with the status existing in such monuments of West Gic. prose or, e.g., in the ON *Biskupasqgur*<sup>14</sup> (in which ecclesiastical style can be traced) we might be able to determine more accurately in how far the position of the adverb-verb locu-

<sup>13</sup> Compare, e.g., Prof. Roberts' remark (see footnote 4 above) concerning the "initial *pre-removed* adverb" in ON, based solely on prose usage.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Otto Springer, "The Style of the Old Icelandic Family Sagas," *JEGPh*, xxxviii (1939), 107–128.

tion reflects the native idiom or a foreign influence. In prose there are many traces of archaic, poetic influence and these may in some cases represent a native idiom parallel to ecclesiastical usage.<sup>15</sup>

The question of the position of the verb-adverb locution with reference to the verb should be investigated in the whole body of West Gic. poetry before we can arrive at any reliable comparison with the ON.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

*University of Kansas*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Prof. Roberts' remarks (476) concerning OE *Ūt ēode sē sǣdere* (Mk. 4, 4): "Were an element inserted between *ūt* and *ēode* the order would be pre-removed; but this tmesis does not occur, for these forms are Latinisms: '*ūt ēode*' parallels '*exivit*.'" True, *ūt ēode* does parallel *exivit*, but the possibility remains that this parallel was retained in conformity with the earliest Gic. usage as recorded, e.g., in ON *á gengusk eiðar* (Vsp. 26, 3), *á sér þat illa* (Am. 41, 2), etc. (cf. footnote 4 above) and therefore reflects a colorful poetic style. The Latin usage does not run counter to the native idiom.

## THE SNAKE TOWER

### I

(Called then Atli, the king of the Huns:)

"Let the wheel-wain fetch now      fettered Gunnar."  
To his death then drew      the doomed hoard-warder,  
the bold brand-wielder,      a bit-shaking steed.<sup>1</sup>

Living they laid      into loathly dungeon,  
alive with adders,      the lordly Niflung;  
but Gunnar, unyielding,      grim in his mind,  
with his hands did strike      the harp all golden;  
the strings rang out strongly.      With stout heart thus  
should high-born hero      hold to his own.<sup>2</sup>

With these words the *Atlakviða* relates the death of Gunnar, the head of the royal Burgundian family. The *Atlamál*, later in date, have visibly elaborated these relatively simple facts:

His harp took Gunnar,      the strings grasped with  
   his foot-twigs;  
wept all the women,      so well could he play it,  
men burst into tears eke      who could but hear him;  
of his wrongs he told her;      burst the rafters asunder.<sup>3</sup>

Snorri repeats the story with several picturesque additions:<sup>4</sup>

[Atli] caused Gunnar to be thrown into the snake pit. He was however given a harp, on which he played with his toes, his hands being bound, so that all snakes fell asleep, except one adder which crept up his body and stung him below his breast, put its head in the hollow, and clung to his liver until he was dead.

The *Völsunga Saga* (c. 37) reports the same facts, adding that it was Gunnar's sister Gudrun who sent him the harp, that the adder entered his mouth and, reaching his heart, killed him.<sup>5</sup>

According to the *Oddrúnargrátr* (29) the adder was none other than Atli's mother, who had transformed herself to carry out a revenge, for which however no motive is given. The

<sup>1</sup> *Atlakviða*, 31, tr. Hollander, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Atlakviða* 34, tr. Hollander, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlamál* 61, tr. Hollander, p. 359. In stanza 54 (Hollander, p. 357) the king had given orders to throw Gunnar into the snake den.

<sup>4</sup> Hugo Gering, *Die Edda* (Leipzig-Wien), p. 372 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. an episode in the *Olafs Saga Tryggvas*. (c. 211), where King Olaf introduces a serpent into the mouth of Raud, an obdurate heathen who refuses baptism. The snake is said to have reached his heart and to have caused his death.

*Þiðreks Saga* (c. 383), the *Gudrúnarhvöt* (18) and the short Sigurð lay (57) make no mention of Gunnar's harp. According to the *Nornagests þáttur* (c. 2), on the other hand, there even existed a lay, the *Gunnars slagr*, now lost, which apparently presented the text of Gunnar's last song in the snake pit.<sup>6</sup>

The curious punishment inflicted on Gunnar has repeatedly attracted the attention of scholars.<sup>7</sup> In view of the zoögeographical fact that no snakes, whether poisonous or harmless, are found in Iceland and Greenland, while in continental Scandinavia the only poisonous snake known is *Vipera berus*, the common viper, whose bite, though dangerous, is rarely fatal,<sup>8</sup> the conclusion would seem obvious that the motive in question formed part of the continental legend of the death of the Nibelungen. This conclusion is fully borne out by the occurrence of the same episode in the *Þiðreks Saga*, which incorporated, as is well known, a Low German form of the story representing a stage in the development prior to that of the MHG *Nibelungenlied*. This Low German text placed the scene of the last struggle in or near the peaceful Westfalian town of Soest. The saga even mentions a tower, known as the Snake Tower, which was apparently shown to the pilgrims by the local *ciceroni*. That this is no idle fancy of the Norwegian sagaman is made clear by a deed dating from 1178<sup>9</sup> and by the additional fact that at the beginning of the last century old people in Soest still remembered that an ancient demolished tower in the town had been known under the name of *Schlangenturm*.<sup>10</sup> Our episode is therefore properly German, not Scandinavian, although the term *ormgarðr*, used in the *Þiðreks Saga*, was probably borrowed from the Eddic poems, as was pointed out by S. Singer.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Uhland, *Schriften*, VII, 320.

<sup>7</sup> R. Petsch, "Gunnar im Schlangenturm," *PBB.*, xli (1916), 171-179; S. Singer, "Gunnar im Schlangenturm," *Zeitschrift f. Volkskunde*, I (1929), 69-71; *Handwörterbuch d. deutschen Märchens*, I (1930-33), 436.

<sup>8</sup> A. R. Wallace, *The Geographical Distribution of Animals* (New York, 1876), I, 195.

<sup>9</sup> Petsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 172, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> W. Tappe, *Altertümer der deutschen Baukunst in der Stadt Soest* (Essen, 1823), p. 13; cf. Uhland, *Schriften*, I, 126.

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 70.

This fact has naturally not interfered with the popularity of the theme in the North. Thus in the *Ragnars Saga Loðbróka*, the hero, taken prisoner by the English after a lost battle, is thrown by King Ella (who does not know his identity) into a snake yard (*ormgarðr*), to compel him to reveal his name. The snakes do not touch him until his coat is removed by the executioners. Seeing that his end is near, Ragnar sings his last song, which leaves King Ella in no doubt as to the prisoner's identity.<sup>12</sup>

That the episode was modelled after the story of Gunnar's death (as was conjectured by Ludwig Uhland nearly a century ago<sup>13</sup> and again pointed out by Jan de Vries<sup>14</sup>) may be clearly seen from another version of the saga latinized by Saxo Grammaticus.<sup>15</sup> There the additional detail is brought out that one snake of the many pierced the hero's breast and ate his very heart, a feature which is an exact replica of the texts of Snorri and the *Völsunga Saga*.

What attracted the motive to the biography of Ragnar (an historical personage of the ninth century) was presumably the fact that he was known to have slain a dragon.

## II

The question arises: Did the motive of the Snake Tower originate in Central Europe? Off-hand it would seem rather unlikely. Here again the only species of poisonous snake known to exist is *Vipera berus*. Nor is any other dangerous species likely to have existed there at any time since the end of the tertiary. In view of these facts, Sophus Bugge<sup>16</sup> had recourse to a very ingenious theory. According to him, the motive of the snake tower or snake pit was originally connected with a Vandalic king of Africa, where poisonous snakes abound. He also quoted a system of torture 'invented' by Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq (= the Just!), a Tunisian bey who reigned from 1859 to 1882. This philanthropist was in the habit of having obdurate political prisoners

<sup>12</sup> Uhland, *Schriften*, vii, 308.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 320.

<sup>14</sup> *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, xv (1927), 84 f.

<sup>15</sup> *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Holder, ix, 314.

<sup>16</sup> *PBB.*, xxxv (1909), 261 f.



thrown into pits which had been filled with scorpions, snakes, and other noxious reptiles. The prototype of Gunnar's harp, according to the Norwegian scholar, is the cithara requested by Gelimer, the last of the Vandal kings, when he was besieged by Belisarius.<sup>17</sup> As for the snakes, Bugge thought that they might have been construed out of the same text,<sup>18</sup> which avers that 'worms' covered the bodies of the besieged, who had been reduced to extreme misery.

What militates against these ingenious constructions is the occurrence of the same motive elsewhere, quite independently of the story of Gunnar's death and equally independently of the traditions concerning Gelimer.

In these versions, to which we now turn, it is well to distinguish two groups: in the one, the hero is stated to have been thrown into a dismal dungeon alive with snakes, toads, and similar 'vermin'; in the other, he is reported to have been precipitated into a tower or pit which had been expressly filled with serpents, more or less after the manner and method of the Tunisian bey quoted by Bugge. It is clear, of course, that these two groups are not directly connected and that only texts of the second group are really bearing on our problem. Those of the first group are simply reflections of the general mediaeval ignorance on the nature of snakes, toads, etc., found, occasionally, in subterranean prisons.

Let us mention briefly a few examples of the first group. Dungeons filled with vipers and snakes, the hissing of which is frequently described with a good deal of realism, are a common feature of many *chansons de geste*;<sup>19</sup> but the hero always escapes with his life, frequently with the help of an enamoured damsel. Similarly, in the French prose *Lancelot*, Gauvain is thrown into the Dolorous Tower, peopled with vipers and serpents whose hissing keeps him awake at night, though, fortunately, they are unable to creep up his bed. A fair charmer finally rids him of the pest by supplying him with poisoned cakes, which he feeds to

<sup>17</sup> Procopius, *Bell. Vand.*, II, 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Christian Boje, "Ueber den altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hamtöne," Halle, 1909 (*Beihfte zur Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX), p. 92 ff.

them.<sup>20</sup> In the French prose romance of *Agravain*, Lancelot is thrown into a similar pit, from which he is rescued by a charitable young lady, none the worse for sundry bites by the reptiles.<sup>21</sup>

In a local legend of the Breisgau, mention is made of the ghost of a man eaten alive by snakes when imprisoned in an old tower.<sup>22</sup> A similar situation is found in a kalmuck story, where a princess, guilty of having given away her heart without her father's consent, is abandoned with her lover in a swamp infested with dragons. The piteous lamentations of the couple deeply touch the monsters, so that they refrain from harming them.<sup>23</sup> Again, a Jewish legend takes the view that the cistern into which Joseph was lowered by his brothers, was filled with snakes and scorpions. At the hero's prayer, God intervened and "concealed" the beasts in the walls of the cistern.<sup>24</sup> Lastly, the same motive has survived in a well-known German popular ballad:<sup>25</sup>

Es liegt ein Schloss in Oesterreich,  
Das ist ganz wohl erbauet  
Von Silber und von rotem Gold,  
Mit Marmelstein vermauret.

Darinnen liegt ein junger Knab  
Auf seinen Hals gefangen,  
Wohl vierzig Klafter tief unter der Erd  
Bei Nattern und bei Schlangen.<sup>26</sup>

In all these texts it is obvious that the snakes are merely incidental; they had not been collected in the pits or dungeons with a view to tormenting future victims.

<sup>20</sup> Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, iv (1875), 264 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, v (1877), 312.

<sup>22</sup> Waibel und Flamm, *Badisches Sagenbuch*, II (Freiburg i. Br., [1899]), 309.

<sup>23</sup> B. Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1866), No. 5; cf. A. De Gubernatis, *Zoölogical Mythology* (London, 1872), I, 316. In Chateaubriand's novel *Les Natchez*, the Indian Ondouré rides himself of a jealous fair one, Akantie, by throwing her into a swamp infested with venomous serpents; cf. Jules Lemaitre, *Chateaubriand* (Paris [1912]), p. 86.

<sup>24</sup> *Sefer hajaschar* 67; cf. J. Bergmann, *Die Legenden der Juden* (Berlin, 1919), p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> Julius Sahr, *Das deutsche Volkslied* (Leipzig, 1908), I, 113 f. The spelling has been modernized.

Of far greater importance is the second group of stories, those in which the poisonous reptiles are said to have been collected in a pit, by some philanthropic prince, who disposes of his enemies in this fashion.

In a Macedonian story the famous Marco Kraljevič, captured by the Turks, is precipitated into a tower, there to be devoured by a great lizard. Marco kills the lizard, is supplied with food by a charitable old woman and in due time released, so that he may rescue the sultan's daughter abducted by a Moor.<sup>26</sup> In a Rumanian tale of a related type the hero is thrown into a pit inhabited by the *nopâscă*, a sort of snake; but the monster recognises in him the predestined hero and spares him.<sup>27</sup>

According to Plutarch, drawing no doubt on some Latin source, the Roman reactionaries, after the slaying of Tiberius Gracchus, seized one of his partisans, a certain Caius Villius, imprisoned him in a cage and then filled it with vipers and serpents, which soon put an end to his life.<sup>28</sup>

The same Graeco-Roman tradition lives on in certain saints' lives. Thus S. Irene, according to a Greek *bios*, is thrown into a snake pit,<sup>29</sup> as is her Latin pendant, S. Christina.<sup>30</sup> In the Mongol prose epic of Gesser Chan, the hero is precipitated into a snake pit at the command of a prince whom he has offended. By a miraculous remedy he succeeds without much trouble in poisoning the snakes. When the guardian of the pit reports the matter to the prince, Gesser Chan is thrown into an ant pit, but with no better result.<sup>31</sup> In an Indian story, a wicked queen is punished by being exposed to scorpions and snakes with which her husband had caused a deep ditch to be filled.<sup>32</sup>

The origin of these Eastern stories is clear enough: the Tunisian bey Muḥammad the Just could certainly not claim to have

<sup>26</sup> André Mazon, *Contes slaves de la Macédoine sud-occidentale* (Paris, 1923), p. 95.

<sup>27</sup> P. Schullerus, "Rumänische Volksmärchen aus dem mittleren Harbach-tale" (*Archiv d. Vereins f. siebenbürg. Landeskunde*, xxxiii [1906]), p. 538.

<sup>28</sup> Plutarch, *Vit. paral., Tib. et Caius Gracchus*, xx, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Albrecht Wirth, *Danae in christlichen Legenden* (Wien, 1892), p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> *A.A.S.S.*, Jul., v, 524; cf. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> *Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's*, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt v. I. J. Schmidt (Berlin, 1925), p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> F. A. Steel, *Tales of the Punjab* (London, 1894), p. 79.

been the first Oriental ruler who hit on this mode of punishment, which, given man's known inhumanity to man, must have suggested itself in any country in which poisonous snakes abound. Nor is there any sound reason to doubt the essential truth of Plutarch's narrative: a frightened oligarchy, threatened in its privileges, is capable of far worse excesses, and poisonous snakes were easy to obtain from Africa.

At all events, the popularity of the motive is sufficiently indicated not only by the stories cited thus far but also by its occurrence in a considerable number of *Märchen*, which certainly drew neither on Plutarch nor on written sources generally. Thus in a German story of the Grimm collection (No. 135) the brother of the persecuted and metamorphosed queen is thrown into a snake pit, while in a Norwegian variant<sup>33</sup> the children of the unfortunate queen are thus treated, though in neither case do the reptiles harm the victims. In the late Icelandic romance *Af Fru Olíof ok Landres Syni Hennar*, of English and, ultimately, of French origin, the persecuted queen is locked up in a stone structure filled with snakes and toads; but she escapes unharmed.<sup>34</sup> In Perrault's story *la Belle au bois dormant*, the children of the young queen are to be exposed in a vessel filled with toads and snakes, but are saved by the timely return of their father, whereupon the persecuting old witch queen leaps into the vessel herself and is promptly killed by the reptiles.<sup>35</sup> In a Maltese tale of the *Beauty and the Beast* type, the heroine is thrown into a pit filled with seven snakes; she flatters them, praising their physical beauty, and is therefore spared by them.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the same motive occurs in Japanese mythology. There the demi-god Okuninushi visits his great-grandfather Susanowo, ruler of the Lower World, to obtain his help in his struggle with his brothers. To acquire his good will, he marries his daughter but, as sometimes happens, in so doing arouses his ire. As a result he

<sup>33</sup> *Norwegian Fairy Tales* from the collection of Asbjørnsen and Moe, translated by Helen and John Gade (New York, 1924), p. 41 ff.

<sup>34</sup> H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), p. 241 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Bolte-Polivka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, I (1913), 435.

<sup>36</sup> B. Ilg, *Maltesische Märchen und Schwänke* (Leipzig, 1906), I, 155, No. 41

must undergo a number of tests, the first of which is to spend one night in a chamber filled with serpents, another in a room full of snakes and scorpions, etc. By means of a talisman given him by his wife he manages to escape with his life.<sup>37</sup>

In all these stories the occurrence of our theme is to be accounted for by oral migration from countries in which both poisonous snakes and rulers of the benevolent disposition of Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq have always abounded, i.e., North Africa, the Near East, and India. The Atli of the Eddic songs is clearly modelled after the archetype of the Oriental despot; it is therefore not at all surprising that a typical Oriental motive should have become attached to him.

### III

In Scandinavia our motive is however not limited to heroic legend. In the prose conclusion of the *Lokasenna*, the goddess Skaði takes a venomous serpent and hangs it above Loki's face, so that its poison drips on him, causing him unbearable anguish. Nástrond, the Norse abode of the damned, is depicted as a hall the walls of which are woven of the bodies of serpents, their heads hanging down through the ceiling and squirting poison which collects in vast rivulets in which perjurers and blood-thirsty tyrants wade.<sup>38</sup>

Much older than these Scandinavian texts are certain Anglo-Saxon poems mentioning the same eschatological motive. Thus according to Caedmon (270 f.) Hell is peopled with snakes, vipers, and dragons. The poem *Christ and Satan* describes a Hell inhabited by a multitude of serpents, dragons, and vipers (*wyrma þréat, dracan and næddran*, v. 366 f.). The snakes are said to wind themselves around naked men (v. 135 f.), while dragons have their abode at the gates of Hell in all eternity (v. 98). The author of *Judith* similarly thinks that the souls of unbelievers are constricted by huge boas; he calls Hell a *wyrmsale* (hall of snakes) (v. 115, 119). The poem *Salomo and Saturn* (II, 468) speaks of a wormgarden (*wyrmgæardas*) as an eschato-

<sup>37</sup> K. Florenz, *Suppl. d. Mitt. d. Gesellsch. f. Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, XXIV, 260.

<sup>38</sup> Gering, *op. cit.*, p. 350 f.

logical motive. Even in MHG literature this motive is occasionally found. Thus in the poem *Etzels Hofhaltung*, the Gothic king Theodoric, in punishment for his blasphemies, is taken alive by the Devil in the shape of a horse and carried into the desert of *Romanie*, where he is condemned to fight with serpents until the day of doom.<sup>39</sup> In certain MHG poems, Hell is called outright a *wurmgarten*.<sup>40</sup>

These facts naturally point to a Christian origin of the theme, as was rightly seen by S. Bugge.<sup>41</sup> Snakes tormenting sinners in Hell are found in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, of Egyptian origin and going back to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Orientius, in his *Commonitorium*, composed in Gaul about 430, states that the contemnners of God are eaten up by innumerable worms, while serpents in Hell constrict the unrepentant.<sup>42</sup> In the Vision of the Three Monks, mention is made of a great lake full of blazing serpents; voices of wailing and lamentation are heard, saying: "Locus iste iudicii et poenarum est, in quo cruciantur qui Christum negaverunt."<sup>43</sup>

In the Vision of S. Carpus, attributed, no doubt wrongly, to Dionysius the Areopagite, the holy man beholds certain pagans, who had been cursed by him, on the edge of a precipice (*χάσμα*) filled with all sorts of vermin; snakes and demons try to pull them down.<sup>44</sup> In the *Visio Caroli III*, recounted by William of Malmesbury but going back to the end of the ninth century, a furnace is mentioned, filled with serpents, in which the evil councillors of the king's ancestor are punished.<sup>45</sup> In the Vision of the Monk of Evesham, told at length by Matthew Paris, the sinners are torn by the poisonous fangs of monster snakes.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo* (Torino, 1882-83), II, 364.

<sup>40</sup> S. Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>41</sup> *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen* (München, 1889), p. 482 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, I (Leipzig, 1889), p. 413.

<sup>43</sup> Marcus Dods, *Forerunners of Dante* (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 162.

<sup>44</sup> C. Fritzsche, *Romanische Forschungen*, II (1886), 264.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, III (1887), 344 f.

<sup>46</sup> Dods, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

In the Italian prose romance *Guerino il Meschino*, composed in Dante's time, the giant Machabeus is similarly tormented in the abyss of Hell.<sup>47</sup> In the Vision of Tundalus, of Irish origin, serpents are seen to torment the damned,<sup>48</sup> a situation which recurs in *S. Patrick's Purgatory*<sup>49</sup> as also in the Vision of Frate Alberico.<sup>50</sup> As is well known, Dante took over the same theme, in canto xxiv of his *Inferno*, where thieves are thus exposed:

Con serpi le man dietro avean legate  
Quelle ficcavan per li ren la coda  
E'l capo ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.

Sometimes in Christian legends the motive is used to bring out the severity of the hero's penance. Thus in the Servian ballads of Simeon the Foundling, a variant of the mediaeval Gregorius legend,<sup>51</sup> the hero, guilty of having unwittingly lain with his own mother, is confined, at his own request, in a dungeon full of snakes and scorpions, the key of which is flung into the Danube. He is told that his guilt will be expiated when it returns from the waters. After nine years a fish is caught in the belly of which the key is found. The abbot forthwith goes to the dungeon and finds Simeon unharmed. An Old French poem relates the story of a repentant usurer who, to do penance, is locked up by a hermit in a prison filled with serpents and toads.<sup>52</sup>

The theme is of pre-Christian origin, having been evolved from certain Old Testament passages. Thus we read in Isaiah (LXVI, 24): "Vermis eorum non morietur et ignis eorum non extinguetur."<sup>53</sup> In Psalm CI a passage reads: "Qui confidunt in te non timebunt colubrum tortuosum," and Jesus Sirach (VII, 19) says: "The punishment of the godless is fire and serpents." Elaborating these texts, Prudentius and other hymn-writers con-

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge* (Paris, 1896), p. 238.

<sup>48</sup> Dods, p. 235; A. D'Ancona, *I precursori di Dante* (Firenze, 1874), p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> Dods, p. 243; D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, III, 359.

<sup>50</sup> D'Ancona, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Volkslieder der Serben*, übers. v. Talvj, 2d ed. (Halle-Leipzig, 1835), I, 71 ff.; cf. J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction* (London, 1896), II, 223; *Le Moyen Âge*, XLVI (1936), 164.

<sup>52</sup> A. Tobler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, VII (1866), 406 f.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also *Mark*, IX, 44.

tributed to the wide popularity of the theme in the early Middle Ages. It appears to have reached Norway and Iceland through Anglo-Saxon England, no doubt in the course of the Viking period.

## IV

There remains one feature in the story of Gunnar's death which would seem to deserve a few remarks: the effect of his playing on the serpents in the pit. It is of course impossible to conclude from the silence of the *Guðrúnarhvot*, the short Sigurð lay, and the *Þiðreks Saga* that it is an innovation of relatively late texts. The very fact that the harp is not a Scandinavian instrument, but German, militates against such an assumption; for why should the later Scandinavian texts have introduced a German feature of which the German originals themselves knew nothing? It is also significant that the *Ragnars Saga* preferred to drop it, a sure sign that to the feelings of the Norsemen it was an extraneous and disturbing element. Gunnar's harp was therefore most probably a feature of the legend prior to its migration to the North. The effect of music on dumb creation was a commonplace in mediaeval literature, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>54</sup> To quote but one example, the MHG *Kudrun* sings of the divine art of Horant:

390 die tier in dem walde ir weide liezen stên,  
die wûrme die dâ solten in dem grase gên,  
die vische die dâ solten in dem wâge vliezen,  
die liezen ir geverte.

This does not mean that the Scandinavian poets added nothing to the German material. It is certain, for example, that the feature of the *Oddrúnargrátr*, where Gunnar's harp calls Oddrún from a distance, is a typically Scandinavian addition to, and elaboration of, the older and more simple tale. Since Sophus Bugge<sup>55</sup> dealt with this motive with his usual acumen, it is unnecessary to revert to it here.

Summing up our conclusions, we may say that the theme of the Snake Tower or Snake Pit is foreign to Europe but is a

<sup>54</sup> "The Legend of Amfion," *The Classical Journal*, XXI (1925), 21-28.

<sup>55</sup> "Harpens Kraft," *Arkiv f. nordisk filologi*, VII (1891), 97-141.



typical Oriental importation transmitted to Central Europe by oral diffusion some time during the early Middle Ages. In Germany it was elaborated, being connected with the widespread theme of the magic effect of music on the animal world. In this improved form the complete story was carried to Scandinavia, where certain other picturesque features were added. There is no reason to suppose the eschatological motive of the Serpents in Hell, likewise of Oriental origin but diffused throughout Europe thanks to the vogue of the Christian vision literature, to have had a part in the development of our theme in Teutonic Europe.

ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

*Washington, D. C.*

## REVIEW

*Beginning Swedish*, by W. G. Johnson. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1939. Pp. viii+290. Price, \$1.50.

This book limits itself to fundamentals. Much attention is given to the spoken language. Phonetic transcription is employed extensively. The reading texts and the vocabulary used are good, and the exercises are ample and modern. There are 32 lessons (of these, five deal with sounds, and seven are review lessons followed by realia in English, with illustrations). A map is included.

Pp. iii f. To the students "who have mastered the material in *Beginning Swedish*," Danell's *Svensk ljudlära*, Noreen's voluminous *Vårt språk*, etc., are recommended for reference. There exist phonologies and grammars in English that are better suited for high school and college students in their further study of elementary Swedish.

§3. For the sound of *k* in *kär*, the spirant seems to be intended here, "like *ch* in *catch*" ('*t*' not italicized), but the affricate, in §13, "like *ch* in *church*." Which does the author recommend? The character employed, [ç], is usable only for the spirant.

§5. Reference to Old Scandinavian *akr* is out of place in an elementary book.—"In many compound words, the final vowel remains somewhat long even when ' is used to indicate strong secondary stress." This statement could be improved. Length of the posterior vowel or consonant in the type *kärlek*, *klassrum* should be indicated in transcription. This type is treated as if it were identical with the type *flicka*.—*Kanske* and *kärlek* belong to unlike accentual types.

§7. Sentence stress and intonation are here discussed, but not sentence quantity.

§8. The vowel [œ] is called a back vowel.—"Swedish vowels are pure vowels. . . . Several of the so-called English vowels are really diphthongs." The sole example given is "mine"; the pertinent 'made, go,' etc., are ignored.—The manner of producing *ö* should be described similarly to that of *y*. But in learning to

say *y* it is better to pronounce *i* and round the lips than to "round the lips and pronounce *i*."—The dissimilarity, not the similarity, of the vowels of *full* and 'full' should be emphasized.

§9. "Either *g*, *k*, or *sk*" should read "*g*, *k*, and *sk*."

§10. The author says just this about umlaut: "A number of the Swedish vowels are called umlauted or modified vowels: [then examples *man*, *ung*, *fot*, with the English equivalents]. Thus *ä*, *ö*, and *y* are modified forms of *a*, *o*, and *u*. Notice that there are umlaut vowels in English, too." A clearer and fuller statement is needed.

§12. "The consonants *b*, *f*, *h*, *m*, *p*, and *v* do not differ greatly in sound from the corresponding English consonants." Why say "greatly"? The author is less exacting when (§13) he likens *sj* to "sh," where, instead, the dissimilarity should be stressed.

§13. The pronunciation of *rli* in the type *portion* is given as *r*+*sj*.—The fact that *sk* has the *sj* sound in the examples *kanske*, *särskild* needs elucidation.

§15. Except for *r*, the dentals and supradentals (§16) do not have tongue vibration.

§16. The student will not understand "assimilation" of sounds.—What is gained by calling the supradentals "thick" sounds? What is a thick sound?

P. 19. *Och* should here be written [ɔ], not [ä:]. In §21 it is written [ä(:)], although the author's phonetic system has no short [ä].

§21. "Friendly letters" should read "social letters."

P. 25. *Gack*, archaic, is out of place in a short grammar.

Pp. 26 ff. *Creutz* (*eu*=?), p. 53, should be included in the transcription list of proper nouns.

P. 34. *Det*, line 4, is explained, but not the similarly used *detta*, line 1.

§25. About gender the author says only this: "For all practical purposes, Swedish nouns are either *neuter* nouns or *non-neuter* nouns. Since the primary key to this division is the indefinite article, always learn the indefinite article with the noun." To one who knows only English, "neuter" has a different meaning. "For all practical purposes" means nothing to the student.

§27, c. *Han, hon, herrn, frun* are not on a social level with *fröken* and other titles.

P. 39. The use of ' in the transliteration to indicate a not primarily stressed syllable, as in the first syllable of *lära**rinna*, is bad.

§29. "A Swedish noun has two numbers, singular and plural." This is superfluous.—At this point the student does not yet know what "indefinite singular and indefinite plural" of a noun means. So with "indefinite" and "definite" form of adjectives, p. 60. The term "supine," §§41, 42, is not clarified until §43, b.

§30. *Hjärtana* is the sole example given for the definite plural in -a; this word lacks (so Sundén) or very rarely has (so Linder) the definite plural.—The generic use of the definite form of nouns is mentioned nowhere.

§31. This lesson contains too much.—The prepositive article should not be presented until the definite form of the adjective is treated. The latter is here used in examples, without comment. Cf. *pennan, huset, husen*, given in examples in §26, c, d, e, not explained until §30.—*Akademien* (stress?) is not in the vocabularies. So *museum*, §34, c; *hur*, p. 43.

P. 46. In the vocabulary, the form *herrn* is given, without comment. Such listing of irregular forms explained nowhere in the grammar text is frequent.

§34. *Jan* in *Jag gav Jan boken* would be a dative, "functionally"; not *Jan* in "till *Jan*."—§34, a. We cannot speak of "possession" on the part of inanimate objects.—§34, c. *Musei* is here explained, but the forms *muséet, museer* are nowhere discussed.—Nothing is said about the employment of a variety of prepositions in the type *taket på huset*, nor is mention made of colloquial preference for this type in place of the genitive, particularly in the case of inanimate objects.—*Hos doktorn* is a separate type.

§36, a. "Only a relatively small number of neuter nouns ending in a vowel belong to the fourth declension." Swedish has not many such, but most of them belong here. Nothing is said about gender (etc.) of the nouns in declensions 2, 3, and 5.

§37, e. The primarily colloquial type *fönsterna* for *fönstren* should be mentioned.

§38. The definite forms of *examen*, *examina*?—"The names of the months have no plural forms." This is negligible; more important irregularities are omitted.

§42. Here and in §46 the principal parts are defined as including the past participle; they are so given in the general verb list, but not in any of the vocabularies.

§43. The colloquial type *talte* (for *talade*) should be mentioned.

§44, c. The type *gifte* should be included here and in §99, c.

§45, a. "The literary plurals of the verbs in this [the third] conjugation are like those of the other conjugations." *Tala: boar?*

§46. The type *bar: buro* is illustrated, but there is no comment about such vowel change.

P. 80, footnote. "A list of strong verbs with their principal parts is given in the appendix toward the end of this book." This is a most unconventional reference.

§47. The irregular type *gå* should not be listed as a strong verb paradigm beside *dricka*, but in §51. No mention is made of its similarity to the type *bo*.

§49. *På* in *Han håller på att arbeta* is not a preposition. Nor is *om* in *tycka om*, §§52, e and 98, e.—The unemphatic use of "do" in questions and negative statements is overlooked, although such use is far more frequent than is its emphatic use in positive and negative questions and statements.

§51. *Heta, leva*, supine *-at*, are here listed as irregular, but not *ligga: legat*. The author uses the term "strong verbs" but seems to consider all strong verbs as being equally irregular (cf. English). Cf. comment to §47.—No mention is made of verbs belonging to more than one conjugation.—§51, b. "That pleases me" does not suggest an impersonal original. Cf. §76, d.

§52, c. *Jag har gjort det, när du blir färdig* is impossible.

§56. The type *blå*, for *blåa*, is overlooked; cf. §89, *Allas böcker är blå*.

§57. "An adjective is definite when it modifies attributively a definite noun." This is unsalutary brachylogy.—§57, a. The

type *hela* (*halva*, *själva*) *boken* is here and in §31, without comment, mixed in with the type *högra sidan*.—§57, f. "The definite adjective is also used in such cases as these." Then follow examples, without comment as to what the types consist of (*din nya bok*, *lille Gösta*, etc.). Cf. §25, b. How many students will or can analyze such examples?—*Stora* in *två stora gossar* is not definite.

§58. No distinction is made between verbs always reflexive (as, *misstaga sig*) and those that may also be non-reflexive (as, *erinra*, *erinra sig*).

§59, c. "May take" should read "takes."—§59, d. "The superlative is generally used in comparing two." In the examples it is said to refer to "one of three or more."

§60. *Mer(a)*, *mest* may, in addition, be used with any adjective.

§62. The type *allra minst* is noted (through an example, only), but not the type *allt mindre*.

§63. It should be stated that the predicate superlative is uninflected. Only examples are given.—§63, a. We are told in (a) that the *e* form of the superlative is used "if *den*, *det*, *de* or a possessive or a demonstrative adjective precedes." In the similar statement in (b), "a" is omitted before "demonstrative." Does "possessive" include the types *min* and *gossens*? The types *bäste vän*, *äldsta dottern* are omitted.—§63, e. The absence of the postpositive article when the superlative is used absolutely, should be commented on; the mere giving of an example is not enough. The absolute use of the comparative is not mentioned.

§68. It should be stated that *dess* is less used than the English "its," and never colloquially. The example *huset är dess* is impossible.

§69, c and f. It should be stated that *den här*, *den där* and the type *denna stolen* often occur in books (so *inte*, p. 39; *mor*, §52, b; etc.); also that the type *denna stol* is non-colloquial.—§69, h. Unintelligible, due to typographical error.

§70. This deals with demonstratives, but in two of the four examples *det* = "it."

§73. "Most of the interrogatives are either adjectives or pronouns." This is ambiguous.—The example with the adverb

*hur* is irrelevant (similarly, §78, b).—*Vilkendera* by no means always refers to one of two (so *någondera*, §89).—§73, h. *Som* is also added when an interrogative adjective is used.

§75. The colloquial *varann* should be mentioned.

§77. In the example *Vad (som) jag tycker om är hans vänlighet*, the pronoun *vad* is not the subject; cf. (d).—§77, e. "A relative is often omitted." Restrictions?

§79, f. That *båda* often means 'two,' and under what conditions, is not mentioned.

§95. "The past tense of *att få* is used with the infinitives *höra*, *se*, and *veta* to express perception at a definite time." Any tense, and also the infinitive, may be used. The function of *få* here is to denote the beginning of the action.

§96. Does *torde* have past meaning (cf. general vocabulary)? No examples are given.

Pp. 201 f. *Emedan* and *äter* should be labelled 'non-colloquial.'

P. 214, lines 11 f. The construction of a preposition with *att* and a finite form of the verb, frequent in Swedish but rare in English, is nowhere discussed.—In line 28, *jo* is not used "in answer to negative question" (see vocabulary).

P. 227. *Även* is here incorrectly rendered "even."

§103. "Frequently an *s*-passive is used to denote reciprocal action." This is incorrect. The verbs in question are deponents, which are discussed in §104.

§104. No distinction is made between exclusively active *s* verbs that have no active forms and verbs that have active as well as *s* forms (the latter usually also with passive meaning).—The list of the "most important" deponents omits *finnas* (cf. §76, e) and others fully as important as are *fattas* and *brås på*.

§105, b. It is not stated what may separate the components of separable verbs.—The author's types (b) and (c) are one and the same basic type, as against (a). But the type *tycka om*, never *omtycka*, but always p.p. *omtyckt*, is not mentioned. Cf. comment to §49.

§§107, 108. The treatment of the subjunctive leaves an unclear impression.

Pp. 258 ff. In the verb list, five second conjugation verbs of

the type *leva: levat* are ascribed to the first conjugation. Why not then also *ligga: legat*? What of *gå: gått*?—Omitted are *skola, må, måste, hava*, while *kunna, vilja, böra, (töra)* are listed. The list of "most important" strong verbs includes *gnida, kliva, klyva, nypa, snyta, tjuta* but not *vara, bryta, förnimma, strida*, not to mention others. *Njuta, (töra)* are in the wrong place.

Swedish-English Vocabulary. Separable verbs are not entered uniformly. *Onsdag* is in the wrong place. *En halv, som helst* are listed independently under *H*.

English-Swedish Vocabulary. "Country, every, Mr." are in the wrong place. "At last, (the latter)," etc., are listed independently under "L," etc. "Seems" should be "seem."

Index. There are various omissions and other inequalities.

Typographically the book could be better (pp. 115 f., 142, 149, 265, 270 (*köra*), 285 ("at once"), §96, etc. The author's name is not on the back of the volume.

Here have been listed the more important of the comments which a reading of this book has suggested. It is hoped that *Beginning Swedish* will be carefully revised, so that it can more confidently be placed in the hands of students.

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

*University of Nebraska*



## CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor:*

During my absence on leave last spring you published a letter by Professor A. E. Zucker in which he challenged the view of Julius Bab's Ibsen criticism set forth by Professor C. E. W. L. Dahlström and myself in an Ibsen-Strindberg article of last year (*Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, May, 1938, p. 60). A copy of this letter which reached me on my way to Germany, prompted further research on the point at issue, especially since this could then be undertaken on the very ground where Mr. Bab came to that change of conviction which Professor Zucker questions.

From the evidence we are prepared not only to substantiate our original position, but to extend its force and range. It now appears unquestionable that early in our century the German critics, Mr. Bab included, were veritably idolatrous in their appraisals of Ibsen, and that their idolatry focused upon those very "Gesellschaftsstücke" against which within a decade they began leveling charges of tendentiousness and moralizing. In Mr. Bab's writings these charges grew increasingly frequent. Less and less did he write "with great enthusiasm on the poetic quality of Ibsen's art," and more and more did he restrict his praise to the three great works of the first period, especially to *Peer Gynt*. For those who may wish to examine the evidence for themselves I present these notable items from the bibliography of Julius Bab's works:

"Ibsens Unsterblichkeit." *Schaubühne*, Berlin, Jahrg. 2, (1906), S. 703-708.

"Das Ibsen-Problem." *Die Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, Jahrg. 21, (1910), S. 1447-53.

"Ibsen." *Die Gegenwart*, Jahrg. 1912, Nr. 1, S. 5-8 (A revised version of the "Neue Rundschau" article, which reappeared later as the first section in the book, *Neue Wege zum Drama*, Oesterheld u. Co., Berlin).

*Der Mensch auf der Bühne. Eine Dramaturgie für Schauspiel- und Bühnenspieler*. Achtes Heft.—*Durch das Drama der Franzosen und Ibsen*. Oesterheld u. Co. Verlag, Berlin, 1923, S. 245-78.

Respectfully yours,  
C. N. WENGER

## ANNOUNCEMENT

A new book for the study of Norwegian is announced for publication during February in the 1940 catalog of F. S. Crofts & Co. of New York City. It is *Reading Norwegian*, by Professor Einar I. Haugen of the University of Wisconsin. The publisher's statement reads: "A series of fairy tales, short stories, essays and one short novel, covering various aspects of Norwegian life in a pleasant and illuminating manner. For the use of students who have acquired the elements of Norwegian grammar and vocabulary, this book introduces new words chosen for their value and effectiveness in the reading of general literary Norwegian. Complete vocabulary, with a special section listing new words according to the readings in which they first occur."

In preparing this book as a companion volume to his *Beginning Norwegian*, issued in 1937 by the same publisher, Professor Haugen has done good work in furtherance of the study of Norwegian.

A. L. E.

## SIGVAT THORDSON AND HIS POETRY

There is no saga about Sigvat as there is about so many other Icelandic skalds; possibly, because of his undistinguished birth and his comparatively uneventful life. The little we know about him is intimately interwoven with the history of the royal house of Norway which he served so devotedly, and this little is not very specific about the man.

His father, Thord, surnamed Sigvaldaskald (i.e., the poet of Sigvaldi) was an Icelander of unknown parentage who had long been with Earl Sigvaldi, leader of the Jomsvikings, that famous band of freebooters of the Baltic; so most likely he was a man of warlike proclivities himself. Then he had served Sigvaldi's brother, Thorkell the Tall, the most powerful of Danish earls in his time, and, after his fall, had taken to trading and travelling widely. On one of his journeys, somewhere in the Western Islands of Great Britain, he encountered the royal scion Olaf Haraldsson, later called Olaf the Saint, then on one of his numerous raiding expeditions, and became his devoted man.

Not a line of Thord's poetry has come down to us; but both his poetic gift and his capacity for great loyalty were transmitted in rich measure to his son, Sigvat, of whom, as it happens, we have more stanzas than of any other skald. The historian Snorri says that his ability soon manifested itself, and that when mature he improvised poetry as fast as other people talked. And no doubt he is right because such a decided gift is likely to manifest itself early—think of Goethe, of Pope. According to another source, to be sure, he does not seem to have 'lisp'd in numbers'; he seems, in fact, to have been anything but precocious. To account for his later extraordinary gift of improvisation, a rather silly legend has it that once when fishing through the ice of the lake near which he was fostered in southern Iceland, the boy caught an unusually large fish and on the advice of a Norwegian who was present, ate its head, "for in the head resides an animal's wisdom"—whence Sigvat's discerning mind and poetic talent!

When 'nearly grown' he left Iceland for Norway with a company of merchants and landed in Thronthjem just after Olaf had come to the land to regain his kingdom, then under unpopular

Danish overlordship. This was in 1015 A.D., and since the age of 18 years was in those times counted full manhood, we infer that Sigvat was born toward the end of the tenth century. Learning that his father was there, in the company of the king, he at once rejoined him. Sigvat had composed a poem of praise about Olaf and asked leave to recite it to him. This, the king, himself a young man, refused, saying that he neither cared to have poems made about him nor, for that matter, understood skaldic poetry. Nothing daunted, Sigvat won his ear by the following stanza:

Hearken my song, sinker-  
of-sailhorses,<sup>1</sup> for greatly  
skilled at the skein am I—  
a skald you must have—of verses;  
and even if thou, ruler  
of all Norway, hast ever  
scorned and scoffed at other  
skalds, yet shall I praise thee.

Then, probably after hearing him finish the recitation of his poem, the king gave him a gold ring and invited him to become a member of his *hirð* (body-guard)—a great honor for one so very young. The poem is known as *Vikingavísur* ('Viking Verses') and celebrates fifteen of Olaf's battles in as many, rather wooden, stanzas.

With regard to the king's remarkable answer to Sigvat's request it must be borne in mind that the missionary king probably was suspicious of the skaldic art, which, before Sigvat, had leaned heavily on heathen myths for its kennings. In fact, all alliterative art—'Othin's mead'—was regarded as essentially 'heathen' till it was shown to be capable of dealing with Christian subjects as well. The king's unwillingness 'to have poems made about him' is not necessarily indicative of modesty: all such performances looked toward a reward; and to be praised by an unknown, and possibly inferior, poet was an insult, rather

<sup>1</sup> I.e., 'of ships.' This kenning for 'sea-king' is peculiarly appropriate here because Olaf, soon after his advent in Norway, sank the ship of his rival, Earl Hakon Eriksson, by upsetting it with a hawser stretched under it from both sides (*Heimskringla*, *Ólafssaga helga*—in the following referred to as *O.H.*—chap. 40).

than an honor! As time wore on, Olaf not only surrounded himself with skalds but, like some of his successors and like other medieval lords, himself tried his hand at it.

The first years of Olaf's reign were stormy, as they were bound to be for a king ambitious to rule the whole of a country which had lapsed into a provincial domain, with many semi-independent chieftains owing allegiance to a foreign power. Moreover, Olaf took up with burning zeal what he regarded as his life task, the thorough Christianization of Norway, which alone was sufficient to set most of the conservative leaders against him. Sigvat soon had the opportunity to stand by his lord in battle. Thus he took part in the naval engagement off Nesjar (1016?), when Olaf fought successfully against the superior forces of Earl Svein, and "in the summer immediately following it, composed the poem which is called *Nesjarvisur*."<sup>2</sup> But, though irreproachable in form, it still contains disappointingly few personal, concrete touches beside the usual vague battle descriptions in skaldic fashion.

More congenial, no doubt, Sigvat found it to employ his gifts as a man of peace. The king, as well as others, discovered that he was a counsellor of discretion and sterling character, who could be used in delicate diplomatic missions. Occasion soon arose.

The district between Norway and Sweden had always been a bone of contention between the two countries. The border feud had flared up anew after Olaf's regaining of Norway. Incursions were made from both sides, until the urgent demand arose that there should be made an end of it. The best intermediary appeared to be Reynold (Rognvald), Earl of West Götland, the Swedish district contiguous to that region, who was married to one of Olaf's kinswomen and was his personal friend besides. To confirm peace between Norway and Sweden and, we surmise, to establish Olaf more firmly, it was decided to ask for him the hand of Ingigerð, the daughter of the Swedish king.

In the company of the high official at the Norwegian court who headed this important mission, rode the young poet—as an attaché, we would say now. The spirited 'occasional' verses

<sup>2</sup> *O.H.*, chap. 49.

composed by him on this, and a later, journey to Sweden he collected afterwards under the title of *Austrfararvísur* ('Verses on a Journey to the East'). They comprise some of his best work, vivid with the feelings and experiences of the moment, with a definite sensitiveness to the moods of nature, and with a healthy sense of well-being and humor. For the setting we follow Snorri's narrative<sup>3</sup> in which they are embedded; though the matter is told differently, and perhaps more reliably, but not so well, in other sources. The stanzas are here translated in full, and in the exact meter of the original (*dróttkvætt*).

"As they approached Götland he spoke these verses:

Light my mind was, outside,  
and mirthful, when on firth-ways  
with our glorious king, the stormy  
gales did shake our sailships:  
in glee, swiftly, our sea-steeds  
o'er the sounds of Lister bounded  
at will, with the wind belying  
the wings of heeling keel-birds.<sup>4</sup>

Tented, in time of summer,  
and tethered, our sea-wethers<sup>4</sup>  
at anchor rode, floating  
before the good land's shore-line:  
but now, in fall, when on rollers  
Ræfil's-horses<sup>5</sup> are coursing,  
I, wretch, must ride to Sweden,  
sans rest, as the king requested.

"and when twilight fell:

On the long road hastens, hungry,  
my horse at twilight, coursing,—  
the stars stream out—forward,

<sup>3</sup> *O.H.*, chap. 68 f.

<sup>4</sup> A kenning for 'ship.' Awnings were stretched at night, to sleep under, when the ships rode at anchor.

<sup>5</sup> Kenning for 'ship': toward winter, the ships were drawn on rollers into sheds. Ræfil is a mythical sea-king.

the straw scenting, to our quarters.  
 Through brooks splashing, my black steed  
 bears me swiftly and warily,  
 at wane of day, far from Daneland,  
 in a ditch though he stumbled, pitching.

"They entered the town of Skara, where Earl Reynold resided, and the poet said:

Readily will look the ladies  
 and lasses, as we are passing  
 by the road, on the dust of our riding  
 fast, up to Reynold's castle.  
 Let us spur to speed our horses,  
 sprightly, so that maidens high-born  
 and fair, from the hall may hear us  
 whisk by as we gallop briskly."

Negotiations were then carried on from Skara, and at the residence of the Swedish king, but nothing availed against the stubborn personal opposition of that ruler, for he hated Olaf with an abiding hatred. In the end he was compelled by his freeholders to conclude peace with Olaf and to pledge him his daughter's hand. No sooner had they dispersed, however, than he went back on his promises and, instead, married her against her wishes to a Russian prince. This left Olaf in the most embarrassing predicament of waiting in state for his bride at the border—in vain. A war of revenge is considered; but cooler heads prevail, and Sigvat (then barely twenty-one!) is sent with two companions to Skara, to discover whether treachery on the part of Earl Reynold is responsible for this dire affront; also, perhaps, to see what can be done to save the situation for Olaf. Sigvat sets out in the late fall of the year 1018 from Borg (the present Sarpsborg), founded by King Olaf as a border stronghold.

"Then they journeyed east to Eid and were ferried over the river on a miserable small boat, and just managed to get across. Sigvat spoke this verse:

The crazy ferry carried  
 me clear to Eid, fearful—

top-heavy, it near tipped me—  
 to turn back from errand.  
 Ne'er carried me of coracles—  
 curses on it—a worse one;  
 nor was e'er seen sorrier  
 sea-buck:<sup>6</sup> I was lucky!

"Then they journeyed through the Eid Forest.<sup>7</sup> Sigvat spoke this verse:

Well you may know, unwilling  
 and weary we trudged thirteen  
 miles from Eid, nor idled,  
 onward, with much hardship:  
 I swear, blisters and sores were  
 on the soles of us strollers  
 as fared through the Eid Forest's  
 fastness the king's men hastily.

"Then they journeyed through Götland and in the evening came to the farm which is called Hof. There the doors were barred so they couldn't get in. The people of the house said that it was 'holy' there, and so they left that place. Sigvat spoke this verse:

At dark to Hof we drifted.  
 The door was barred; so before it  
 I stood, knocking, and steadfast  
 stuck in my nose, pluckily.  
 Gruffly answer they gave us:  
 "Get you gone!" and threatened

<sup>6</sup> Kenning for 'boat.'

<sup>7</sup> For those familiar with Scandinavian geography it should be said that Snorri for once seems confused about their itinerary. There are only two rivers between Sarpsborg and Skara requiring a ferry, viz. Glommen (flowing past Sarpsborg) and the Götaelv—both deep and swift. The words of the poet: "fearful to turn back from errand" (*öðumk æþrhrarf*) suggest that it was Glommen from which he hated to return ignominiously at the very outset; this he would have had to if they had upset. Once the travellers were across the Götaelv, however, they had their difficulties behind them, for they were then in the smiling plain south of Veneren and not far from Skara. The Eid Forest referred to cannot possibly be the great forest between Norwegian Viken and Swedish Värmland.



us all: 't was heathen-holy.  
To Hell with all those fellows!

"Then he came to another farm. There the woman of the house stood in the door and forbade them to come in, saying they had the sacrifice to the elves inside. Sigvat spoke this verse:

"Wroth with you will be Othin,  
wretch," said a witch-wife,  
"for we are heathen, if hither  
here in you dare, I fear me.  
"Also," the ill-favored beldame  
added, she who forbade me  
foot to set in, the slattern,  
"sacred to elves we are making."<sup>8</sup>

"The following evening he came to three farmers for entertainment, and each one was called Oliver (*Olver*), and they all drove him away. Sigvat spoke this verse:

Moreover, now three knavish  
namesakes—not much fame they  
gained thereby—against me  
gruffly turned, the roughnecks!  
I fear that from their doorsteps  
forthwith all the worthless  
fierce fellows hight Oliver<sup>9</sup>  
th' unfriended will drive, untenderly.

"They went on, that evening, and came to a fourth farmer, who was said to be the most considerable man in that neighborhood. He drove them away. Sigvat spoke these verses:

<sup>8</sup> Sacrificial feasts dedicated to the elves (*alfar*), the *alfablót*, took place on a certain day in late fall, in the separate farmsteads. Neither the purpose and the extent of the rite nor the details of it are known. It has been surmised, though, that the *alfar* were the souls of the departed and that the feast was a kind of ancestor worship; at which, of course, strangers and especially Christians, would not be welcome. Cf. *Acta Phil. Scand.* VII, 169 f.

<sup>9</sup> The most probable etymology of *Olver* is \**alwsthaz* 'guardian, or priest, of a fane.' Possibly, there is an ironic allusion to the nearly homonymous *qlværr* 'hospitable.' Cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 175.

Again, to find a spender-  
 of-gold,<sup>10</sup> as all had told me  
 the fellow was, we rallied,  
 for food and other good things:  
 through a door's chink the boorish  
 churl but eyed us, surly:  
 If best you call him—Christ! then  
 curses be on the worst one!

Ay, we missed in the Eastlands  
 beyond the Eid-woods, fondly  
 the ale that had all had  
 on Astas's<sup>11</sup> farm, without asking,  
 and Saxe's warm words of  
 welcome: the churlish fellows!  
 Four times was I turned out  
 by tight-fisted blighters!

"But when they arrived at Earl Reynold's, he said that they  
 had had a hard journey. Sigvat spoke these verses:

On our hands had we, friends, now  
 a hard task, when asked us  
 the sea-king-of-the-Sognings<sup>12</sup>  
 to proceed to the lord of Sweden:  
 ordered us the folk-warrior  
 word to bear out of Fjord-land;  
 nor have we spared us hardships  
 heavy, nor toil and toiling.

Weary were we from tiring  
 ways—I sing the earl's praises—  
 and endless paths through the Eith woods,  
 eastward to the feasting;  
 nor do you think us thankful

<sup>10</sup> Kenning for 'generous' man.' They are told to go to still another farmer.

<sup>11</sup> Asta was the mother of Olaf the Saint; so the reference seems to be to the king's hospitality. We do not know who Saxe is (or the son of Saxe, as the original has it); but possibly he is the man to whom Sigvat had been recommended for accommodations but whom he had missed.

<sup>12</sup> I.e., Olaf, as King of Norway.

when thrust us the blustering  
 dolts from their doors with scolding,  
 the dastards, on our way to the castle!<sup>13</sup>

"Earl Reynold gave Sigvat a golden ring. A woman said that he had gone to some purpose, with those black eyes of his. Sigvat spoke this verse:

This band, my bonny Icelandic  
 black eyes through the trackless  
 forest wastes from the westward,  
 wench, led to these benches;  
 and, over steep rocks stepping,  
 these sturdy feet, unerring  
 have trod, tender maiden,  
 till we came to this village.

"But when Sigvat returned to King Olaf at Christmas time and entered his hall, he looked about him at the walls and spoke this verse:

The king's hall is hung with  
 helmets, and eke with the mailcoats  
 of hird-men back from harrying—  
 both the hall and the wall-posts:  
 no better found, nor fitter  
 furnishings than those byrnies,  
 a king, nor comlier hangings  
 could find: thy hall is goodly!

"Then he spoke about his journey and spoke this verse:

Let the hird give hearing  
 how, wielder-of-power,  
 out of word-hoard,<sup>14</sup> of hardships  
 rehearsed are these verses.  
 From the swan's-road<sup>15</sup> to Sweden  
 set I out, and little

<sup>13</sup> Reynold's: the rustics who had refused to entertain Sigvat evidently were his retainers.

<sup>14</sup> Kenning for 'mind' (used here by the Translator).

<sup>15</sup> Kenning for 'sea.'

rest had I, when riding,  
restlessly, to eastward.

"But when he addressed the king, he spoke these verses:

I clung fast, sir King, when  
I came at last to famous  
Earl Reynold, to my errands  
all, thy words recalling:  
on his demesne and manor  
many a time with thy thane I  
held converse: he is beholden  
wholly to thee, Olaf.

Thou shalt, said he, shelter  
and shield them who, wielder  
of Norway's power, come near you  
now, sent by Earl Reynold;  
likewise he, belike if,  
Lister's king, to eastward  
o'er the main, at thy commanding,  
thy men shall fare to Reynold.

Thy false friends elsewhere,  
folkwarder, aye spoke of  
turning traitor to Norway,  
as the trothless Eric's kin<sup>16</sup> urged them.  
I tell the truth: thou couldst not  
retain the land which from Swain thou  
didst take, if so forsook thee  
the son of Ulv,<sup>17</sup> for money!<sup>18</sup>

The son of Ulv, King Olaf,  
aye said that he was ready  
for peace to meet thee midway,  
mighty one, with troth plighted:  
mayhap to settle matters,

<sup>16</sup> I.e., King Olaf of Sweden.

<sup>17</sup> Reynold.

<sup>18</sup> Not in the original but, of course, implied.

if minded you were, and inclined to  
 forgive and forget, forever,  
 all grievances, foe-of-the-thief-clan.<sup>19</sup>

"And he assured the king about Reynold's loyalty in this verse:

Fast shalt, hero, hold to  
 him, and shoulder to shoulder  
 stand; for to aid thee, always  
 doth Earl Reynold bestir him.  
 Works the earl unwearied  
 alway, fighting for thy rights, sire:  
 thy best friend he aye in Eastland  
 and ally, by the salt sea."

Sigvat had been well received by Reynold, and while at his court, had made the acquaintance of Astrid, the beautiful and gifted illegitimate daughter of the Swedish king with a Wendish princess. Putting their heads together, Reynold, his shrewd wife, and Sigvat hit upon the idea that she would be a suitable wife for Olaf. And Sigvat on his return was able to persuade Olaf that this union would be to his advantage, besides being a fitting revenge on the Swedish king, who had not been asked for his consent. The nuptials were celebrated in splendor that same winter. For his services, Sigvat was made 'marshal',<sup>20</sup> one of the highest positions at court.

His resourcefulness and devotion shine forth strongly in the following, apparently historical, incident.

Astrid had no male children by Olaf, who, notwithstanding his later odor of sanctity, though not much at variance with the morality of the times, had other wives. One of these was called Alfhild, said to have been of great beauty. One night she was to give birth to her child. Only a few women were near; also Sigvat and a priest. The mother was having a difficult time, in fact, was at death's door. Says Snorri: "She gave birth to a boy child,

<sup>19</sup> An epithet frequently bestowed on the Scandinavian kings, as on the German emperor, referring to their obligation to maintain peace and order in their domains.

<sup>20</sup> Old Norse *stallari*; which is the equivalent of the Latin *constabularius*, French *connétable*.

and for some time they did not know if he was alive; but when the babe began to breathe—very weakly—the priest asked Sigvat to go to the king and tell him. He answered: "I don't dare wake the king on any account, because he has forbidden any and every one to rouse him before he awakes himself." The priest answered: "It is imperative that the child be baptized, because there seems little likelihood that it will live." Sigvat said: "I would advise that you baptize the child, rather than that I wake the king. I shall be rebuked for it, but I shall give it a name." The child was baptized and called Magnus. The morning after, when the king was awake and clad, he was told what had been done. Then he had Sigvat called before him and said to him: "Why were you so bold to have my child baptized before I knew of it?" Sigvat answered: "Because I would rather give God two souls than one to the devil." The king said: "How do you make that out?" Sigvat answered: "The child was near death, and its soul would have been the devil's if it had died a heathen; but now it is God's. For another matter, I knew that even though I drew your wrath down on me, it would not cost me more than my life; but if you desire that I lose it because of this matter, then I hope that my soul shall be with God." The king said: "Why did you give the boy the name Magnus? There is no such name among our kinfolk."<sup>21</sup> Sigvat answered: "I baptized him after King Charlemagne,<sup>22</sup> for I know that he was the greatest man in all the world." Then the king said: "A man of rare good fortune you are, Sigvat. . . ." The king was then exceedingly glad in mind. The boy grew up and soon became a man of parts."<sup>23</sup>—He was to succeed Olaf.

In the comparatively quiet years following the—temporary—pacification of Norway, Sigvat perhaps wished to see more of the world, and we find him travelling in France and England (1025–1026). Evidently he was also charged to find out what King Canute the Great's designs were on Norway—his forbears had laid claim to it. And at least one of the stanzas composed during this journey expresses the poet's concern about the prepa-

<sup>21</sup> The right of baptism is the father's, and the choice of the name is all-important, for it cannot be changed.

<sup>22</sup> Carolus Magnus, the ideal ruler of the Middle Ages. The epithet was taken to be a name.

rations that were being made looking toward an attack on Norway to bring it again under Danish overlordship. These verses, collected by the poet under the title *Vestrfararótsur* ('Verses during a Western Journey') contain little referring to any personal experiences, nor are they notable. While being entertained at the English Court he had quite appropriately composed a poem—lost now<sup>22a</sup>—in praise of Canute, and had been rewarded for it, though rather meagerly, he thinks, as compared with his competitor, Bessi Skaldtorfuson. This, and the circumstance that, for some reason or other his homecoming was delayed beyond the time agreed on, aroused the suspicion of King Olaf; for when Sigvat on his return briskly and confidently steps into the king's hall with the stanza:

Home have I come hither,—  
hear my words, oh ruler,  
and let all men mark them—  
your marshal, from his journey:  
say to me, what seat hast thou,  
sea-king—though all thy hall is  
lief to me aye, liege-lord—  
allotted to me 'mongst thy warriors?

the king is at first silent, then says: "I don't know whether you care to be my marshal any longer—haven't you become King Canute's man?" Thereupon Sigvat improvises a fine stanza in which he indignantly rejects the imputation:

Canute did ask me often  
if I, ring-giver, would be  
loyal to him as liege-lord  
as to light-hearted Olaf;  
but I to him made answer  
that ill—and truth spoke I—  
beseemed it to serve two kings.  
What I said, many can witness.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22a</sup> Not to be confused with the elaborate and pompous *Knútsdrápa* composed by him after Canute's death (1035), of which we have considerable fragments.

<sup>23</sup> Thus I interpret the otherwise rather insipid words of the original: "at hand lie sufficient examples for every man." Hardly in the sense: no man can serve two masters (because of *mér sama*).

It goes without saying that he was restored in his favor with the king.

Sigvat seems to have had a genius for friendship. Indeed, it is the most attractive feature of his character that he made staunch friends in all camps and with men mutually hostile, yet managed to retain his own and their respect—certainly a rare quality in any time! Though devoted unto death to his king, he admires and is honored by King Canute, and with high moral courage does not permit ill to be said of Olaf's opponents in Norway. Thus, he also defends the memory of Erling Skjalgsson, ruler over southwestern Norway, who long was the king's most dangerous competitor in power and personality. Though having sworn loyalty to King Olaf he treacherously went back on his word but was defeated (1028), after fighting with remarkable bravery, and killed. When Sigvat heard of his fall, he was saddened and composed a Memorial Poem about him which shows genuine feeling and admiration for his personal qualities and genuine sorrow over his death. I have translated this stanza:

My drink drank I with sorrow,  
the day they told me the tiding  
of Erling's fall—'t was at Yuletide—  
who Yæren's shorelands governed.  
The dear lord's death doth make me  
droop my head in sadness;  
higher I held it erstwhile:  
hapless murder<sup>24</sup> was that.

How much keener still must have been the poet's sorrow over the death of his so dearly beloved king! We do not know whether he accompanied him on his dramatic flight over the mountains from his kingdom and to the East. It does not seem likely, as some of the most striking occurrences in it would surely have elicited his ready poetic comment. Nor was he along when Olaf shortly after tried to regain his kingdom, and with a motley throng of loyal adherents and heathen adventurers marched back over the mountains, only to fall before a powerful coalition

<sup>24</sup> He was slain after Olaf had given him pardon, much against the will of the king, who knew that this deed would still further weaken his precarious hold on Norway by alienating many friends. (*O.H.*, chap. 176).



of his old enemies on the plains of Stiklestad (1030). In fact, the skald's, and former marshal's, absence is noted with some acerbity by his rivals! For reasons best known to himself, Sigvat had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome; and it was on his return from Italy that he learned of Olaf's death. Standing on a height of the Alps (or Apennines) he is overcome by memories of the time when Olaf was in his prime:

On the Mont I stood, and remembered  
 how many a targe was Sundered,  
 and byrnies, broad and long ones—  
 above the castle,<sup>26</sup> in the morning;—  
 how the prince in his prime, wielded  
 power in all of Norway:  
 near the throne my father, Thord, stood  
 in those times—to mind I called it.

"One day," relates Snorri,<sup>26</sup> "on his way homeward Sigvat passed by a homestead and heard the farmer wailing loudly because he had lost his wife by death. He beat his breast and rent his clothes, weeping and saying that he would gladly die. Then Sigvat spoke this stanza:

His dear wife having died, he'd  
 die himself, so vowed in sadness  
 a peasant: too high a price that,  
 to pay for love departed;<sup>27</sup>  
 but bloody tears<sup>28</sup> will weep—I ween that  
 much worse by far our loss is—  
 unfleeing warriors, when fallen  
 they find their king in battle."

<sup>26</sup> The reference is quite obscure. May we think of fortifications in the mountains which recall some exploit of Olaf's in a similar location?

<sup>26</sup> *Magnus saga góða* (the *Saga of Magnus the Good*)—referred to in the following by *M.g.*—chap. 7.

<sup>27</sup> The line is not as clear as it might be.

<sup>28</sup> In the original, *víglár* 'tears wept over one fallen in battle.' In the *Flateyrbók* account, II, 371 we are told that Sigvat weeps at the news of King Olaf's fall and is mocked therefore by some men as being *þreklíttill* 'soft'; whereupon he speaks the above stanza. "*Víglár* 'battle-tears,'" said Sigvat, "we call the tears we weep at such tidings."

It was a sad home-coming for Sigvat, with the enemies of his king at the helm. Things did not look the same as before; and he gives expression to his grief in a touching and memorable stanza:

Smiling methought the sloping  
sides of all braes in Norway—  
ever close to him kept me  
the king—when Olaf lived still;  
much gloomier now the grey fells—  
my grief is heavy—with him I  
sailed the seas in my time—  
since the king did leave us.

Moreover, some of Olaf's old friends blamed Sigvat for not having fought with his king at Stiklestad. He indignantly and forcefully retorts:

May the Holy Christ cast me  
in quenchless fires of Hell-pain,  
the All-seeing, if ever  
from Olaf I fled: I am guiltless.  
Witnesses have I like water:  
I went to Rome as a palmer,  
to make amends for my  
many sins<sup>29</sup>—why deny it?

"One day," continues Snorri, "Sigvat was walking in the street.<sup>30</sup> He saw the king's men disporting themselves at games. Then he spoke this verse:

Pale as ashes, I promptly  
passed from where the ruler's  
spearmen in games sprightly  
sport—<sup>31</sup>in my breast dwells sorrow—:  
to mind it comes how the keen-eyed  
king oft played, erstwhile,  
the glorious one, games with me,  
on the ground of his forefathers."

<sup>29</sup> Added by the Translator, interpreting *háski* as '(imminent) danger (to the soul).'

<sup>30</sup> At that time, the main (or only) street of Thronhjelm.

<sup>31</sup> I.e., in Norway.

Memories of Olaf crowded upon him there and, though invited by the regent, a son of Canute, he preferred not to dance attendance at court and returned home: he had an establishment and children, we are told, But his love of kin and home could not outweigh his devotion to the interest of the royal house he served. He went to Sweden to bide, and aid, the return to power (1035) of Olaf's son Magnus—the same he had held over the baptismal font and to whom he had given this name, eleven years before.

Very naturally, he became the counsellor of the boy-king, as he had been of the father, and is likely to have exerted considerable, and salutary, influence on him. However, there were also other influences at work. Magnus had agreed to a virtual amnesty for those who had borne arms against his, now sanctified, father. But once intrenched, he forgot his pledges and, with a mistaken idea of revenge, persecuted many landholders, both high and low. Some he had slain, others fled the country. Their property, as that of men guilty of high treason, became the king's. There resulted great bitterness and apprehension in the districts of West Norway, particularly about Throndhjem and in Sogn, and signs of armed rebellion were not wanting in the war-weary land. At that juncture, friends of both sides got together and counselled among themselves how to make the young and headstrong king aware of the danger and to let by-gones be by-gones. We are told that lots were drawn, to determine who was to be their spokesman, for it was ticklish business, opposing the king. "It was so arranged," says Snorri, "that this fell to the skald Sigvat. He straightway composed the poem *Bersöglisvísur* ('Outspoken Verses'). . . . After this admonition the king experienced a change of heart, many others supporting Sigvat's plea. In the end the king took counsel with the wisest men, and they came to an agreement about the laws (ca. 1040). Afterwards King Magnus had the law-book written which is still kept in Throndhjem and is called *Grágás* ('Grey Goose').<sup>32</sup> King Magnus then became popular and was beloved by all the

<sup>32</sup> This has not come down to us. Its name (from the binding) was transferred later to a collection of Icelandic laws.

people; for which reason he was called Magnus the Good."<sup>33</sup>

The poem *Bersqglisvtsur* seems to have come down to us virtually intact. To my mind it is, as a whole, Sigvat's best work. It is structurally excellent in a way that few skaldic poems are, it is concrete and specific without losing the afflatus of the high-flown court measure. Best, it is instinct with warm personal attachment to the king and his best interests, and hot with a burning indignation at his conduct, recalling the stern wrath of the Hebrew prophets.

The poem begins by reminding Magnus of his father's generosity and bravery. And in peace and war, the poet always was close to (i.e., enjoyed the confidence of) King Olaf—a fact which Sigvat frequently brings out with pride, 1-3; but then he, like his illustrious forebears, Hákon the Good and Olaf Tryggvason, always zealously upheld the laws of the land and preserved peace within the realm, 4-5. From the beginning the skald had espoused Magnus' cause when he came from the East, and great had then been the hopes of the people for peace—indeed, to them it seemed as if very heaven had come down to earth with his advent, 6. To this father, the poet had ever given candid advice when treachery was afoot—no turncoat he,<sup>34</sup> 7. Let Magnus now heed the poet's frank warnings and beware the wrath of the yeomen at his lawlessness—though he will fight for the king if need be, 8-9. What evil counsellors are egging him on to deeds of violence in his own country? 10-11, which are rousing even the older people to armed resistance? 12-13. His acts are considered sheer robbery, 14. Better by far to let both rich and poor enjoy the blessings of the law, 15. In King Olaf's company the poet was held in high honor, and seldom had to wield the saddening sword, 16. Even now he would rather join the court of the Danish king if his words are not heeded, 17; but he lives in hopes that Magnus will put on a new man—and at once; when all would gladly forgive him and be happy to live and die with him, 18.

<sup>33</sup> *M.g.*, chaps. 12-16.

<sup>34</sup> Is there a gap here? But now, we imagine the poet continuing, matters are different—you are listening to evil counsel instead of good; the people are disappointed.

## BERSQGLISVÍSUR

(Outspoken Verses)

1. I fared wit him<sup>36</sup> who to faithful  
followers dealt out riches—  
fame he got him, and the falcons  
food—so long as he lived with us:  
fall I saw the most fearless  
followers, for him<sup>36</sup> who fed oft  
with kingly sword the keen-eyed  
wolves with corpses of the fallen.
2. I e'er followed thy father  
faithfully; and he was always—  
(but) peace now cheers thy people—  
pleased to have me about him:  
in the slaughterous battle, beside him,  
sword in hand, stood I  
proudly, facing his foemen:  
the fence is tightened with brambles.<sup>37</sup>
3. Thy father, Magnus, fought oft  
his way through thickest fray with  
unfaltering band of followers,  
where foemen on field did battle.  
Many a brave heart beat when  
boldly pressed on Ólaf,  
warding off those who would have  
fain laid waste his kingdom.
4. Hákon, who fell at Fitjar,<sup>38</sup>  
folk did name the Good, and

<sup>36</sup> I.e., King Ólaf the Saint, Magnus' father.

<sup>36</sup> I accept A. E. Kock's explanation of this somewhat difficult line.

<sup>37</sup> Literally: "the forest is thickened with bushes"—apparently, a proverbial saying. It is taken to mean that even inconsiderable men (as the poet deprecatingly implies himself to be) are necessary in the 'shield-castle' flung about the king in battle.

<sup>38</sup> I.e., Hákon the Good (who was fostered by King Æthelstan of England), an ancestor of St. Ólaf. He was wounded and died at Fitjar (on the island of Stord, outside of the Hardangerfjord) defending his country against the Danes.

held most high and loved him,  
 a halt who called on outlaws.<sup>39</sup>  
 Farmers still fondly think of  
 Æthelstan's fosterson; they  
 cling to his laws loyally—  
 loath were they to forget him.

5. Wise were earls and yeomen,  
 warmly to love the Ólafs:<sup>40</sup>  
 both kins did give their cattle  
 and crops the peace they needed;  
 both Harald's heir and Tryggvi's  
 hardy son strove ever  
 to uphold and heed the even-  
 handed laws made by them.
  
6. I espoused your cause, young prince, when  
 from the east you pushed, that autumn:  
 and now may'st give all Norway  
 peace anew; for all say  
 very heaven, it seemed, had then  
 hither come to earth when,  
 son of Ólaf, with sword you  
 seized, and held, your home-land.
  
7. The tell-tale words of treason  
 told I thy sire alway,  
 whenever my ears had heard of  
 his enemies' hidden plottings;<sup>41</sup>  
 with upright mind—for I'm no  
 turncoat, nor ever played double—  
 I put before him their paltry  
 plans, yet stood in awe of him.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. st. 13, below, and footnote 19.

<sup>40</sup> I.e., King Ólaf Tryggvason and his relative, St. Ólaf.

<sup>41</sup> One may think here of Sigvat's exploit in discovering and foiling King Hrcerek's cunningly plotted escape from imprisonment. (*H.E.*, chap. 83).

<sup>42</sup> I.e., incur the danger of his wrath.

8. Beware that wroth thou wax not  
at warnings, frankly uttered  
by men of wisdom, merely  
meant for thy greater honor.  
Other laws, but they are lying,  
thy lieges have now, say they,  
than those, pray, which you promised,  
prince, of yore in Wolfsound.<sup>43</sup>
9. Strongly warned thee Sighvat:  
strive not with the Sognings,<sup>44</sup>  
embattled 'gainst thee and bitter!  
But: fight I shall if need be,—  
shall swiftly seize, and gladly,  
my sword, to shield and ward thee,  
if but thereby, King Magnus,  
we bate the hateful discord.
10. Whoever eggs thee, atheling,  
to axe the farmers' cattle?  
Unheard of is 't for hero  
to harry in his own country!  
To a young king such cursed  
counsel ne'er before was given:  
weary of sack are thy warriors,  
ween I, and wrathful the farmers.
11. Whoever eggs thee, ruler  
eager for battle—often  
thy blade with blood is reddened—,  
to go back on the word thou'st given?  
Constant should king e'er be,  
keeping his promise. Nowise,  
folkwarder, it befits thee  
false to be and mainsworn.

<sup>43</sup> Where Magnus in assembly abrogated the onerous laws introduced by the Danish overlords after St. Ólaf's fall, and promised amnesty to his father's enemies among the nobility.

<sup>44</sup> The inhabitants of the Sognefjord district.

12. A warning this to thee, warlord—  
't is wise to stave off danger—:  
all hoary men of whom I  
heard are set against thee;  
't is parlous, prince, if the franklins  
put their heads together,  
suddenly growing silent,  
and sink their noses cloakward.<sup>45</sup>
13. On guard be against groundless  
gossip of folk which borne is  
hitherward—one's hand should,  
hanger-of-thieves,<sup>46</sup> move slowly.<sup>47</sup>  
'T is a faithful friend who now—  
feeder of ravens greedy—  
gives thee, King, good warning:  
the gorge of the yeomen has risen.
14. 'T is this they ever think on:  
that thou, king, takest from them  
the farms which that their fathers  
farmed: they rise against thee!  
Robbery recks it the yeoman,  
routed out of his freehold  
by the high-handed ruling  
of henchmen, king, at thy bidding.
15. Let the poor now, prince, as well as  
the powerful, enjoy the blessings  
of the laws of this land, and,  
liege, thus keep thy promise.
16. Ólaf often with gold-rings  
honored me: at his thing-meets,  
stintless, the stout sea-king

<sup>45</sup> A gesture of sullen wrath and vengeful waiting.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. footnote 39, above.

<sup>47</sup> Apparently, a proverbial saying but, as is sometimes the case with Sigvat's intercalated proverbs, not clear in significance and bearing.



bestowed rich gifts on many;  
 on both my arms bore I  
 bright gold rings, the while he  
 lived, and seldom the saddening  
 sword I wielded for him.

17. To Harde-Canute's hall will  
 hie them the thoughts of Sigvat,  
 unless mighty king Magnus  
 be minded to honor his poet;  
 with the fathers of both of you fared I  
 as a friend, while still unbearded  
 quite, and in younger years won  
 yellow gold with my skald's tongue.

18. Thus may take a turn, then,  
 the tide of things, to the better;  
 but be not thou half-hearted:—  
 holy is all between us—  
 Forgiving-minded, Magnus,  
 may'st thou find us, the while thou  
 wardest Harold's hawk-isle<sup>48</sup>—  
 happy to live or die with thee.

We do not know when Sigvat died. He is mentioned last as being on board of King Magnus' ship on his eventful expedition to Denmark (1043). If he had lived much longer, we surely would have at least some fragments of a poetic celebration by him of his king's great victories over the Danes and Wends at the end of that year; and a dirge on the occasion of Magnus' death not so many years after.

There is a legendary account of the circumstances under which Sigvat composed his last poem. He was on a ship near the coast of Norway. When he felt death approaching, he began to indite a song in praise of his life-long friend and king, Olaf the Saint. He planned to intersperse it with a burden taken from the story of Sigurth (the Dragon-slayer); but a farmer's wife,

<sup>48</sup> I.e., Norway.

on board with him, had seen Saint Olaf in a dream, and he had bidden her to tell Sigvat to use the Story of Creation instead. He did so, and the king appeared to him in a dream, foretelling when they would meet. Of this *Erfdrápa* ('Funeral Poem') some 28 stanzas are preserved, but neither the beginning nor the end, it seems, nor is a burden discernible.<sup>49</sup> In what we have, Olaf's many battles are recalled, with vigorous stanzas on the Battle of Stiklestad and his awe-inspiring presence there:

Dreadful was it, I dare say,<sup>50</sup>  
for dart-throwing yeomen  
to face the fight-loving  
folk-warder's fierce brow-moons;<sup>51</sup>  
nor dared the doughty warriors  
from Drontheim, before him faltering,  
though leagued, to look into  
their lieges' flashing eye-balls.

His severe procedure against disturbers of the peace is praised; and finally there is an account of the eclipse at his death, of the miracles that forthwith declared his sanctity, and of his resting place in the cathedral at Thronhjelm.—There also are interned the mortal remains of his poet, who might fittingly be called Olaf's skald.

Sigvat is not a great poet. For that, he lacks the original genius, both of expression and conception, and the impassioned energy that marks spirits like Egil Skallagrímsson and some of the Eddic poets. His very saneness and emotional balance, the gentle humanity which makes him loath to draw 'the saddening sword,' precludes those outbursts of passion, or even the pent-up intensity of feeling, without which great poetry is rarely born. Closest he comes to it in the anxious pleading and hot indignation of *Bersqglisvtsur*. And a certain manly wistfulness cannot be denied his moving stanzas of grief over king and friends de-

<sup>49</sup> Finnur Jónsson, to be sure, insists that the last half-stanza is a remnant of the burden. It should be mentioned, by the way, that the above translation of *Uppreistarsaga* as the 'Story of Creation' is none too certain.

<sup>50</sup> He was not present.

<sup>51</sup> Kenning for 'eyes' (used here by the Translator).

parted. He is unassuming, the grandiose style is not in his nature. His contemporaries correctly saw in him the great improvisator, ever ready to fix some *bon mot*, or frame some stinging retort, to clothe some memorable thought or impression, in verses outstanding in skaldic poetry for their simplicity of diction and comparative absence of syntactic involutions. His kennings rarely strike out along original lines; in fact, they are most often reminiscent of other poets. But in noting their colorlessness and infestivity we should in fairness remember that Sigvat being a Christian in a time of bitter strife between the new faith and the old, could not draw for them on the rich store of heathen myths as did his predecessors. But if his language is subdued it shows no baroque excesses or tawdriness. Always, Sigvat is urbane and in good taste; there is not a vulgar line in his production. As to structure, that is perhaps the weakest side of skaldic art, also of Sigvat's—again with signal exception of *Bersöglisvísur*, which in Old Norse literature is unsurpassed for firmness of composition. What appeals in a positive way to us in Sigvat's art is his engaging naturalness, as compared with the pompous rhetoric of most skalds, and his good humor—and both these qualities go well with the favorable impression made by his fine personality, his passionate loyalty to king and friends, his eminent sense of justice and fairness.

L. M. HOLLANDER

*University of Texas*

## CERTAIN ASPECTS OF TEGNÉR'S VIEWS CONCERNING POETRY

In the following analysis an attempt will be made to bring into connection with one another certain phases of Tegnér's views concerning poetry which have not been duly synthesized (or emphasized) by other scholars. Such a synthesis, in spite of the restrictions imposed, is desirable for a more co-ordinated presentation of Tegnér's poetic thought. The material treated is far from exhaustive; it is presented here rather as a survey, especially since certain aspects involved in this discussion have already been mentioned by other scholars.<sup>1</sup>

Since Tegnér was fundamentally a poet and not a critic, his writings (apart from his lectures) do not reveal any great wealth of material concerning his views regarding poetry.

Tegnér's views on the subject of poetry are found not only in his prose writings, but also here and there throughout his verse. Indeed, in his magnificent *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund* (1820) he lays the corner stone upon which he builds the structure of his poetic art,—“kraft och klarhet.”

No one can dispute the universal validity of these two elements of poetic art, and when viewed as an axiom divorced from their application these two ideals may seem to bear the flavor of a banal truism.

But the *relation* of “kraft” to “klarhet,” as indispensable to poetic art, is open to various interpretations necessarily colored by individual or national tastes. When applied to Tegnér himself as the exponent of Swedish literary taste during the latter part of the Gustavian era, this esthetic correlation becomes intimately associated with Swedish cultural thought of his time.

One salient characteristic of Tegnér's religious and poetic thought is his emphasis on the eternal verities. These he repeatedly synthesizes into one harmonious whole. Religion, morality, art, and life are all the expression of one fundamental

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Fredrik Böök, *Esaias Tegnér, första delen* (Stockholm, 1917), especially “Den stora lyrikens period,” chap. II, “Estetisk utveckling” (pp. 401 ff.); and Albert Nilsson, Introduction to Tegnér's *Filosofiska skrifter* (Stockholm, 1913), especially chap. IV, “Naturuppfattning” (pp. 119 ff.).

principle, the blending of the soul with the divine. But out from this unity flow divergent springs, and these are the national and the personal equations which give to Tegnér's poetic art a specifically Swedish coloring and lend to his writings a personality that marks him as one of the greatest exponents of Swedish cultural thought.

### I. *Kraft och klarhet*

The validity of "clarity" as an essential to poetic art is self-evident. But the Romantic writers were continually violating this basic element of clarity, and it is for this reason, no doubt, that Tegnér emphasizes "clarity" as an essential complement to "strength."

On the other hand, the question may be raised as to the exact significance which Tegnér attaches to the term "strength" as applied to poetry.

My own feeling in this matter is that by "strength" Tegnér implies coherence of thought and expression.

Primarily, "strength" refers to content, and "clarity" must reveal content. The content of any poem cannot be worthless, degenerate, or frivolous, if poetry is to represent true art. Here Tegnér evidently unites his ideal of *form* ("klarhet") with that of *content* ("kraft").

This correlation of form and content Tegnér presents in his essay *Försök att förklara min popularitet som skald* (1839). Here he points out that both Swede and Frenchman agree as to the necessity for clarity of expression, but emphasizes the fact that Swedish poetry requires a type of content different from that of the French.

He says:

"Svensken liksom fransmannen älskar i poesien företrädesvis det lätta, klara, genomskinliga."

\* \* \* \*

"I afseende på sjelfa andan och verldsåsigten hos poeten, så älska vi företrädesvis det lefnadsfriska, raska, modiga, ja, öfvermodiga.

Detta gäller äfven om svenska nationalkaraktern. Ehuru

förslappadt, flärdfullt och förderfvadt folket må vara, ligger dock alltid en vikingaåder på botten af nationallynnet, och man älskar att igenkänna den *äfven hos skalden*."<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \* \*

"En kall, men klar och frisk vinterdag, som spänner och stålsätter alla människans krafter, för att kämpa emot och besegra en hård natur, är den rätta naturbilden för nordiska lynnet."

Thus, "clarity" should reflect the "strength" of the Swedish national character. The *content* of Swedish poetry must be consonant with the salient characteristics of the Swedish race, and thus alien to the French temperament, however great the emphasis which the French laid upon clarity.

Secondarily, however, it is evident that by "strength" Tegnér also implies coherence of expression, as well as value or propriety of content.

In this connection it is necessary to consider Tegnér's attitude toward prose. Certain it is that no Swedish writer has ever equalled Tegnér in the clarity and brilliancy of his prose, which bears a marked resemblance to his poetry.

In his address *Svar på A. A. Grafströms inträdestal i svenska akademien* (1840) Tegnér analyzes the relation of prose to poetry, revealing their affinity in clarity and orderly arrangement:

Jag älskar prosan, lifvets verklighet,  
urformationen utaf tingens väsen,  
och ofta lägger jag med flit i dikten  
en bit granitberg för att hålla samman  
den lösa grund, som rimmen spela på.  
Ty prosa är likväl förstånd och klarhet,  
som ordna allt och sammanhålla världen,  
den yttre som den inre, i sin ban.

\* \* \* \*

—hvar ljus och ordning äro, der är skönhet—.

From this passage it is obvious that Tegnér clearly recognizes the necessity for a firm foundation upon which the struc-

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

ture of poetry, as well as of prose, must rest. Without the basic quality of coherent thought poetry collapses into incoherence and confusion, as is seen in the work of the Romantic poets.

In this construction of poetic art, basic orderly arrangement becomes equivalent to "strength," for foundation is strength. Thus, "strength" converges into the esthetic category of "clarity"; for without the "strength" of basic orderly arrangement no "clarity" is possible.<sup>4</sup> "Ljus och ordning," his ideal of prose composition, represents essentially the same principle as "kraft och klarhet" as applied to poetry.

One of the best examples of "granitberg" in Tegnér's poetry is his Karl XII (an entire "granitberg"), which resembles the terse, powerful style of ON verse. Charles the Twelfth seems indeed hewn out of granite. "Kraft och klarhet" are here united in ideal form.

## II. *The Universal and the National Function of Poetry*<sup>5</sup>

While Tegnér in part voices the Romantic interpretation of poetry as the expression of his era, he nevertheless, in accord with the doctrines of Schiller and Kant, clearly recognizes the universal significance of poetic art. The individual or the national expression of poetry represents a special phase of art, a mere restriction of the universal principle.

Thus, he says in *Svanen och fjälltrasten* (1812):

Konstens former äro många,  
fast dess väsende är ett.

Art (= beauty) is one of the eternal verities, and only those elements which accord with the eternal principle can survive, as Tegnér says in *Fridsroster* (1808):

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Ty prosa är likväl förstånd och klarhet."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Det dunkelt sagda är det dunkelt tänkt" (*Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bök, *op. cit.*, "Estetisk utveckling" (pp. 401 ff.).

Bök here traces the influence of foreign (chiefly German) philosophical and esthetical thought upon Tegnér, but does not sufficiently co-ordinate Tegnér's views as to the relation of the universal to the national function of poetry.

My analysis of this question is offered as a supplement to Bök's.

Hvad tillfälligt är må falla,  
det väsentliga består.

The freedom which the poet exercises must therefore not overstep the bounds which the universal rules of art prescribe. Just as life and religion,<sup>6</sup> even so must art rest upon "lagbunden frihet." Thus, in his poem *Georg Adlersparres skugga till svenska folket* (1839) Tegnér says:

Det är med friheten liksom med skalden:  
ej af det öfverspända, oerhörda  
han bygger upp sin verld, men helst af det,  
som finnes öfverallt, som alltid funnits.

The poet who observes this universal principle of art reaches out beyond national limitations into the universal brotherhood of man, however divergent the national tastes and temperament may be.

To this ideal Tegnér gives perhaps the most beautiful expression in his poem *Skaldebref* (1815):

Kroppen förvittras till luft, men sinnet är evigt det samma,  
sanning och snille och dygd lefva bland skuggorna qvar.  
Derför är plats i vårt lag för svensken med romaresinnet,  
Latiens skalter en dag famna sin nordiske bror.

Consonant with Tegnér's religious philosophy that man shares in the divine spirit, the true poet, whatever his nationality, receives divine inspiration.

Thus, Tegnér says in *Sången* (1819):

Hvi klagar skalden då? Hans flamma,  
är hon ej gode gudars lån?

and in his dedicatory poem *Franzén* (introduction to *Kronbruden*, 1841):

Hur högt det skönas *ideal* må gälla,  
i skaldens eget bröst är diktens ursprungskälla,

This esthetic expression of Tegnér's doctrine of pantheism (viz., that the beauty of nature dwells likewise within the poet's

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Vid jubelfesten* (1817) and *På Vexjö gymnasium* (1834).



soul) is reflected especially in his poems<sup>7</sup> *Konstnärn* (1806) and *Elden* (1812). Even as man shares in the divine spirit, so the poet intuitively reflects the divine beauty of nature; his poetic thoughts are born and grow like the flowers in spring.

Thus, in *Konstnärn* Tegnér says:

Går ej ditt gudaverk fram af sig sjelf ändå,  
som utur jordens barm de rika källor gå,  
som under vårens sol de lätta blommor växa?

and in *Elden*:

Säg oss, säg oss, är du ej den samma,  
Känd som snillets eller solens flamma,  
uti skaldens dikt, i vårens prakt?

All poets are one in their source of divine inspiration and therefore one in the ideal for which humanity is striving. The universality of art, as the expression of man's striving for beauty is in effect the same principle as "art for art's sake," as Tegnér says in his lectures on esthetics (*Föreläsningar i aesthetiken*, 1808):

"Skönheten har liksom dygden, liksom sanningen sitt ändamål i sig sjelf. . ."

Beauty and truth represent different expressions of the divine principle, an ideal clearly reflected in Tegnér's poem *Till en far*<sup>8</sup> (1805):

Skön är denna tanke, Bröder!  
Därför är den sann jämväl.

But within this all embracing circle of art, poetry finds an individual, national expression in keeping with the national cultural ideals; the poet is the voice<sup>9</sup> of the people.

This doctrine of Herder finds lucid expression in Tegnér's address *Vid offentliga föreläsningarnas slut* (1824), where he says:

"Ty vitterheten i allmänhet och poesien i synnerhet äro en

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bök, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bök, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Tegnér's address *Inträdetal i svenska akademien* (1819):

"En stor författare, i synnerhet en skald, borde aldrig betraktas annorlunda än som en ande. Han är icke en *talande*, men endast en *röst*."

så universel, en så verldsomfattande konst, att den nödvändigt måste uttrycka sig på mångfaldiga olika sätt. Hvarje tidsålder, äfven den råaste, har sin egen poesi, liksom hvarje växt har sin egen blomma."

Similarly, in *Anmärkningar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* (1839) Tegnér says:

"Det är också sant, att all poesi måste återgifva sin tids lynne och bildningsgrad; men det ges dock allmänna mensklige förhållanden och passioner, som i alla tider måste förblifva oförändrade och kunna betraktas som poesiens grundfond."

Tegnér's interpretation of the national Swedish characteristics needs no special elucidation here; they are perhaps most clearly summarized in his *Anmärkningar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* and again in briefer form in his essay *Försök att förklara min popularitet som skald*.

However, one special phase of Tegnér's attitude towards the ideal expression of Swedish poetry is repeatedly emphasized, not only in the two foregoing essays but elsewhere; viz., that Swedish poetry is fundamentally the poetry of nature. For instance, in his letter to Doctor G. P. Hagberg (1820) Tegnér says:

"Svenska poesien är och förblifver en naturpoesi i ordets egentligaste mening, ty den ligger i vår härliga natur, i våra sjöar och berg och vattenfall."<sup>10</sup>

It is in this connection significant that in his poetic analysis of the Swedish language (*Språken*, 1817), the vehicle for the expression of the Swedish character and temperament, Tegnér derives almost all of his poetic metaphors from Sweden's majestic,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. likewise his characterization of Northern literature in *Vid offentliga föreläsningarnas slut*:

"... då måste jag hänvisa er till det isgrå, till det sagorika Norden, der Vala sjöng skapelsens grundtoner, under det månen sken på fjällarna, bäcken slog sin entoniga sång och trasten satt i toppen på en gulnad björk och qvad ett sorgeqväde öfver den korta sommaren, öfver den döende naturen." Cf. this passage with Frithiof's sentiment in *Frithiofs saga* (*Frithiofs lycka*):

Hvem lärde dig, du bäck, som talar  
med blommorna, min kärleks röst?  
Hvem gaf er, Nordens näktergalar,  
den klagan, stulen ur mitt bröst?

natural beauty ("the sun, the hill-tops, the thunder and storms, the valleys, and the sea"):

. . .säker som solens din gång.  
Vistas på höjderna du, der åskan och stormarna tala,  
dalarnas lägre behag äro ej gjorda för dig.

\* \* \* \*

Spegla ditt anlet i sjön. . .

It should also be noted that before the time of the composition of *Språken* (1817) Tegnér in his philosophical poem *Den vise* (1804) employed the same poetic metaphor of "the heights where the thunder and the storms speak":

Opp till maktens höjder honom lyfta,  
att med stormarna och åskan bol

The philosopher should dwell above mankind, far up on "the heights with the storms and thunder."

This metaphor, which links the exaltation of the ideal with Sweden's majestic mountains, finds a counterpart in Henrik Ibsen's symbolic poem *På vidderne* (1859) and throughout his dramas (notably *Brand*, 1866 and *Peer Gynt*, 1867)—a striking example of the temperamental affinity between the Swedish and the Norwegian poet.

Tegnér's analysis of "ärans och hjeltarnas språk" is an exemplary revelation of his "nationalvett" as the Swedish poet, who loves the mighty forces of nature characteristic of his native land, "the storms and thunder" which reverberate in the language and the character of the Swedish people.

### III. Tegnér's Attitude towards the Future Destiny of Swedish Poetry

Much has been written about Tegnér's pessimism but very little about his optimism. One of the finest phases of Tegnér's optimism is his unwavering faith in the future destiny of his native country and its culture, in a Golden age when the ideal, for which he is striving, shall be realized. Like the Norwegian poet, Henrik Ibsen, Tegnér bitterly assails the cultural status of his native country, yet at the same time he visions "The Third

Kingdom" (Ibsen's "Det tredje rike") when the soul of national culture shall survive in a new and idealized form; compare, e.g., the following passage quoted from Tegnér's poem *Till kronprinsen Karl August* (1810):

En ny ande komma skall i Norden  
och *en* tanke klappa i hvar barm:  
friheten och fosterjorden.

with the closing verses of Ibsen's *Kjæmpehøjen* (1850):

så stiger også Norden fra sin grav  
til luttret åndsbedrift på tankens hav!

This parallel thought reveals nothing more than the prevailing Romantic ideal of the Utopia, the *gudadröm* which Tegnér visions in *Svea* (1811).

Again, in his address *Vid jubelfesten* (1817) Tegnér says:

"Vår tid är, liksom Luthers, en orons, en kampens tid; men jag är för min del öfvertygad, att ur de kämpande elementernas strid skall en bättre, en skönare skapelse framgå. . . "

Then, with the prophetic vision of the poet he adds:

" . . . långt i vester, bakom hafvet, der solen går ner för oss, der går hon upp för en lyckligare verd."

This Utopian ideal Tegnér likewise applies to Swedish *culture*. Conscious of the faults in Swedish literature, Tegnér nevertheless visions the birth of a new culture in the distant future.

In a letter to Doctor G. P. Hagberg (1820) Tegnér says:

"Svenska vitterhetens historia är de outvecklade eller missledda krafternas historia. Här gifves knappast någon svensk poet, som är fullgången. Vi äro samtelige blott poetiska utkast, som aldrig utföras, eller utföras förvändt."

Again, in a critique of *Geijer* (1821) he says:

"I en vitterhet som den svenska borde dock alla de bättre förena sig; de äro ej för många; men uselhetens antal heter legio."

These defects in Swedish literature Tegnér with characteristic modesty applies to his own literary efforts, in his critique *Tegnér* (1821):

"Allvarsamt taladt, så har jag aldrig ansett mig sjelf för

någon poet, i ordets högre bemärkelse. *De* se helt annorlunda ut. Jag är diletant som de andra, en homerid."

Then he compares himself to John the Baptist, preparing the way for the Messiah, who some day shall redeem the soul of Swedish culture:

"[Jag är] på sin höjd en Johannes döpare, som bereder väg för den, som komma skall. Att han någon gång skall komma äfven i Sverige, derom är jag för min del öfvertygad. En jungfru är hafvande med honom, nämligen det svenska språket, den svenska historien, en verklig gudamoder. Men *vi* få troligen icke se hans anlete."

Similarly, in his poem *Afsked till min lyra* (1840) Tegnér visions the future redemption of Swedish poetry: After him shall come the ideal Swedish skald, who shall arise like the phoenix from his ashes and fulfill the ideal of Swedish poetry, wherein Tegnér himself has failed:

Den dag skall komma, då utur min aska  
en skald skall uppstå för att sjunga ut  
i slag, som klinga, uti toner raska,  
hvad jag ej hunnit, förr'n min kraft tog slut,  
hvad stort och ädelt i det nordanländska  
som återstår ännu, det väldiga, det svenska.—

Culture is the expression of national life; hence Swedish poetry and Swedish history are both included in Tegnér's prophetic vision of the future. Even so, virtue and truth (the eternal verities necessary to the national ideal) must finally redeem the national life, as Tegnér says in *Det eviga* (1810):

Det rätta får armar, det sanna får röst,  
och folken stå upp till förvandling.

Tegnér's idealism thus finds expression in an optimism which stands in strange contrast to his pessimism. But the defects of any nation cannot finally prevail over the fundamental, national virtues so long as the nation strives to exemplify them. Thus, Tegnér synthesizes the esthetic and the moral; Swedish poetry shall be redeemed for the same reason that Swedish national life shall be redeemed, for both are integral and supplementary phases of the same principle.

### Summary

The foregoing analysis reveals Tegnér's comprehensive and cosmopolitan attitude<sup>11</sup> towards poetry. So far as the application of the universal aspects of poetry to Swedish poetry in particular is concerned, Tegnér's ideal may be summarized somewhat as follows:

(1) The content and form ("kraft och klarhet") of Swedish poetry should be in keeping with the national character and temperament ("det väldiga, det svenska").

(2) Swedish poetry should reflect the national virtues and the national love of nature and of life ("det lefnadsfriska, det natursanna").

(3) These fundamental, national traits will finally prevail over the defects and limitations of the era, and Sweden's future glory, both in culture and in history, will be assured.

In concluding this brief appreciation of Tegnér's Swedish genius, I am reminded of his own words in *Frithiofs saga* (*Afskedet*), where Ingeborg says:

Hvad skulle jag, ett Nordens barn, i Södern?  
Jag är för blek för rosorna deri,  
för färglöst är mitt sinne för dess glöd,  
det skulle brännas af den heta solen,  
och längtansfullt mitt öga skulle se  
mot Nordens stjärna, hvilken står alltjämt,  
en himmelsk skildtvakt, öfver fädrens grafvar.

Surely, Tegnér's idealism stood brilliant, indestructible, and immovable like the North Star, "the heavenly sentinel over his ancestors' graves": *Swedish* in spirit but *universal* in principle.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

*University of Kansas*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Anton Blanck, *Den nordiska renässansen i sjuttonhundratalets litteratur*, p. 432: "Tegnér är en lysande, europeisk representant för den litterära kosmopolitismen, för syntesen av klassiskt och romantiskt."

## REVIEWS

*The History of the Scandinavian Literatures*, based in part on the work of Giovanni Bach, with additional sections by Richard Beck, University of North Dakota, Adolph B. Benson, Yale University, Axel Johan Uppvall, University of Pennsylvania, and others, compiled, translated in part, and edited by Frederika Blankner, Western Reserve University, xiv+407 pp., Dial Press Inc., New York, 1938, \$4.00.

There is no doubt that a need is felt for concise histories of Scandinavian literatures, and we welcome this attempt to fill the want in English. When one considers the interest that is shown Scandinavian literature in this country, it seems strange that no earlier survey of the field has appeared.

Reviewers will differ on the merits of a book of this kind, particularly on the placing of emphasis. While it is true that little attention has been paid in the past to Scandinavian-American literature, it is questionable whether this material has any place in a work of this kind; the inclusion, for instance, of fifth-rate authors in the same volume with Tegnér, Runeberg, Oehlenschlaeger, Ibsen, and the Eddas, seems inappropriate. At any rate the honor conferred on the lesser lights is an unexpected one.

A criticism might be made of the bibliographies in that they are not prepared according to a uniform plan; some emphasize primarily works in English dealing with Scandinavian literature, others include history, language, biography, antiquities, etc. In spite of these dissimilarities, however, the bibliographies will be found very useful to one wishing to penetrate more deeply into the subject.

Included in the book are chapters on literature in the Finnish language in Finland and in America. With all our admiration for Finland and the Finnish people and in spite of cultural connections between Sweden and Finland, we must recognize that Finnish is not a Scandinavian language and that its literature should therefore not be considered Scandinavian.

The individual contributors have spared no pains to arrive at the facts and have improved on the original Italian book by their exactness, so much so that it might have been a better plan

to publish this history of Scandinavian literature as a new presentation, which it really is.

While the reviewer feels that the program of the editor has been too inclusive, this history will contribute much toward a better acquaintance with Scandinavian literatures and will serve as a stimulating introduction to this fruitful field of study. It will be a useful reference work, giving an abundance of information not to be found in any other English volume. The book is attractively printed and well bound.

JOSEPH ALEXIS

*University of Nebraska*

*Reading Norwegian*, by Einar Haugen. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940. Pp. viii + 199. Price, \$1.50.

This book will surely prove to be a highly satisfactory reader. We now have good textbook material for the learning of elementary Norwegian. Study of the present work will naturally be preceded by that of Professor Haugen's *Beginning Norwegian* (same publisher, 1937), which also contains many pages of connected reading material.

Whereas *Beginning Norwegian* introduced a vocabulary of 800 words, the new book adds about 700, not counting some words of relatively small importance to the elementary student, which are defined in footnotes as they occur. The words contained in the former book are, for the purpose of review, included in the vocabulary of the reader, and the words contained in the latter but not in *Beginning Norwegian* are preceded by an asterisk, for special drill. "The texts have been stripped of as many rare and unusual words as possible."

The orthography—this is in Norwegian "in a state of uncertainty and flux"—has been based on the new official Norwegian spelling of 1938. Deviations in orthography and in forms from the norm followed in *Beginning Norwegian* of 1937 are summarized in a note preceding the vocabulary. In the footnotes where new words are discussed and in the vocabulary, phonetic transcription is employed when needed.

Description of the contents of *Reading Norwegian*—the texts



cover 170 pages—can best be made by quoting from the preface Professor Haugen's well phrased sentences: "In this volume the student will find his Norwegian world expanding along with his mastery of vocabulary and idiom. He will learn something of the beliefs and superstitions that have been entertained by Norwegian people in ages past. He will find expressions of tender and homely sentiment, characteristic attitudes to life and death, all the elements that go to make a richly varied human life. He will see life in city and country as Norwegians themselves have seen it, from the eager anticipations of growing youth to the reminiscent tolerance of age. He is given a glimpse also of that extension of Norwegian life which has been lived by so many emigrants in America, and which has been ably depicted by emigrant authors."

While most of the selections are short, the volume includes one that fills more than sixty pages, *Peik*, by Barbra Ring. Illustrations enliven the text of several of the stories.

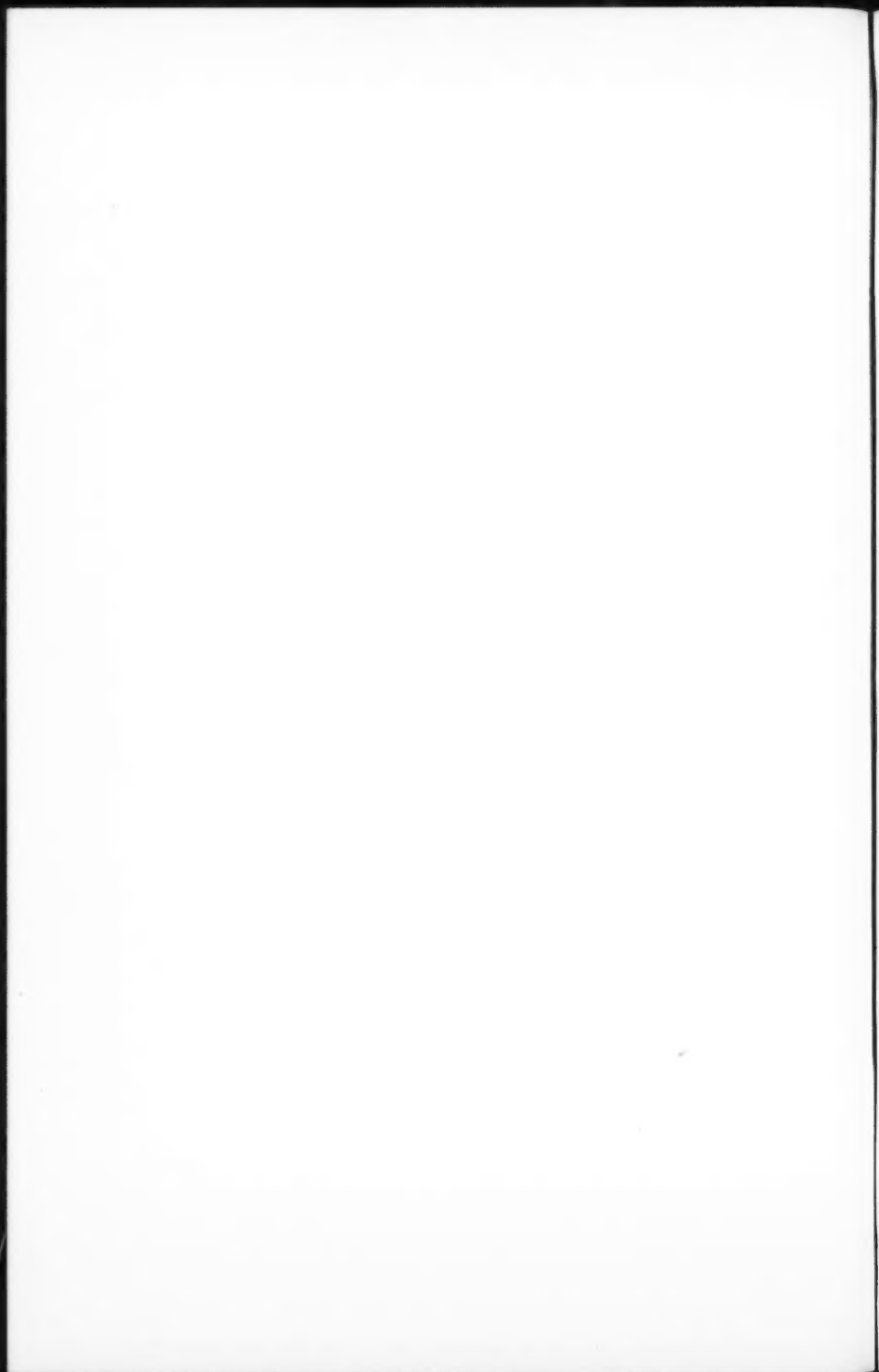
In *Reading Norwegian*, Professor Haugen has given us a book that combines a happy selection of reading matter with a simple and carefully prepared apparatus.

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

*The University of Nebraska*

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

The Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the *Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* will be held in Northfield, Minn., at St. Olaf College, May 3-4.



## STRINDBERG'S *FADREN* AS AN EXPRESSIONISTIC DRAMA

More than a dozen years ago, while working on Strindberg's dramatic expressionism, I was struck by the fact that *Fadren* seemed to be a misfit in the category of naturalistic literature. An analysis not only strengthened my opinion but also indicated the expressionistic quality of the work; so I published my findings.<sup>1</sup> Failing, however, to secure any positive support for my views or to encounter any genuine opposition to them, I decided a couple of years ago to restudy the subject. In an earlier paper I analyzed *Fadren* in the light of Zolaesque naturalism<sup>2</sup> and demonstrated to my complete satisfaction that the play is not naturalistic. In this study I wish to examine the drama in terms of expressionism.

A decade ago I proceeded with due caution in the development of my thesis that *Fadren* responded to expressionistic norms rather than naturalistic, but at the end of my study I deposited the play rather unceremoniously in the lap of expressionism.<sup>3</sup> Now, by means of a somewhat different approach,<sup>4</sup> I wish to re-examine *Fadren* to determine more exactly its relationship to the expressionistic drama.

My method, I trust, will be quite clear. First, I shall endeavor to set up for expressionism a group of norms that will be functional in the analysis of a work of literature. Second, I shall analyze *Fadren* in terms of the norms. Third, I shall evaluate the play as an expressionistic drama.

### *The Expressionistic Norms*

The following norms have been derived from my earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930), 92-102.

<sup>2</sup> "Is Strindberg's *Fadren* Naturalistic?" *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XV (1939), 257-265.

<sup>3</sup> My final, evaluating statements should have been carefully couched in terms of the analysis. See *Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism*, 102, 213, 214.

<sup>4</sup> It may be more accurate to call this approach simply a refinement of the method used earlier.

work on expressionism as well as from more recent studies.<sup>5</sup>

*The Approach.* The expressionistic writer is definitely subjective, his work being primarily a product of *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*.<sup>6</sup> He does not desire to flee the material world; rather he wishes to experience everything and then to objectify in art works the report of his psyche.

*Dramatis Personae.* In expressionistic works, the dramatis personae are usually not individuals or personalities, but general types; hence they are also abstractions. They are frequently without surnames or praenomina, being denominated simply according to sex, age, family relationship, profession, and the like.

*Situation.* The situation<sup>7</sup> tends to embrace a universal conflict; to wit, the antithesis of generations, the battle of the sexes, the struggle of man with the gods, the conflict of the individual with society, and similar problems. Indeed, even when the situation is seemingly particularized, it is usually directed toward the universal.

*Plot.* Divisions of the plot like exposition, complication, development, crisis, and resolution, do not necessarily obtain in

<sup>5</sup> Among works on expressionism published during the last decade note especially the following:

Mathilde Hain, *Studien über das Wesen des frühexpressionistischen Dramas* (Frankfurt am Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1933); Marie V. Keller, *Der deutsche Expressionismus im Drama seiner Hauptvertreter* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1936); Kurt Reinhardt, "The Expressionist Movement in Recent German Literature," *Germanic Review*, VI (1931), 256-265; William Rose, *Men, Myths and Movements in German Literature* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931); Richard Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, *Expressionism in German Life, Literature & the Theatre (1910-1924)*, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1939); Detlev W. Schumann, "Expressionism and Post-Expressionism in German Lyrics," *Germanic Review*, IX (1934), 54-66, 115-129.

<sup>6</sup> Georg Marzynski makes a distinction between the subjectivism of Romanticism and that of Expressionism. See his book, *Die Methode des Expressionismus* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1921), 54-56. See also Kasimir Edschmid, *Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung*, 3 Aufl. (Berlin: Reiss, 1919), 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> See my studies: "The Analysis of Literary Situation," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 872-889, and "Situation and Character in *Till Damaskus*," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 886-902.

the expressionistic drama. Inasmuch as the action is a product of the author's psyche—the objectification of inner experience—the phenomena of the plot are *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*. As a result, standard dramatic development may be wholly ignored and the action forwarded in such a way that distortion is introduced. Obviously, then, it is not essential that there be exposition at the beginning or denouement at the end. The action may begin immediately without preparation, and the drama may end without resolution of the situation.

*Theme.* In expressionistic literature we find at least three classes of themes: the religious, the social, and the philosophical. There is, for example, a search for God in some of the plays, a search even in the very turning away from churches and creeds.<sup>8</sup> Again, the social principle sets forth the essential goodness of man.<sup>9</sup> Pacifism is the ideal, with the attendant aims of the re-creation of human values and the brotherhood of man.<sup>10</sup> Paradoxically enough, revolution is frequently considered the means to the ideal. Philosophical concepts are found in the stress on subjectivism or intuitionism as opposed to objectivism and materialism. The expressionist desires the essential rather than the superficial, the inner reality in contradistinction to the outward manifestation, for his themes are derived from the report of the psyche, not from the testimony of the senses.

*Setting.* Insofar as detailed objects are concerned, the setting is of no special importance in expressionistic works, for the author is not interested in milieu as such. Time is sometimes wholly irrelevant; often there is the intent to conjure up a sense of *ur-time* or of all-time. As regards place, the dramatist may make use of the world of actualities, that of an historical cast, or that of the imagination. In all cases the setting may reveal the effects of having been gestated in the psyche of the artist. Here too distortion may occur.

*The Unities.* No longer are the unities sacred, not merely those mentioned by the early critics but even those which they may have thought insusceptible of violation. We note a sense

<sup>8</sup> This indicates a definite tangent to the concepts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

<sup>9</sup> See Mathilde Hain, *op. cit.*, 71.

<sup>10</sup> See Samuel and Thomas, *op. cit.*, 180, *et al.*

of timelessness in certain of the plays, a frequent change of place, a disjointed or confused action, instability of dramatis personae, and a blurring of theme. Thus there is presented objectively a distortion which is not caricature, and at times it is difficult to find evidence of organic unity.

*Language.* The language of the expressionist may be similar to that of other contemporary or earlier writers, or it may vary greatly not only in what we are pleased to call style but in grammar as well. Sometimes it is passionate: the artist employs words of emotive value, becomes lyrical, and breaks into verse. At other times, verbal impasses leave no means available for expression other than the telegram style,<sup>11</sup> lallation, and sheer outcry.

*Form and Content.* The expressionistic artist wishes to be free from all outward restraint, and hence he regards himself as a revolutionist. He struggles to throw off the yoke of earlier artists and their schools; as a result he feels a kinship with predecessors who went their lonely ways. There is the haste to abandon traditional forms and standards as well as the frenzied attempt to attain pure expression. If he puts his philosophy into practice, the artist does not wrestle with his material for the purpose of moulding a content into form; on the contrary, he seemingly tries to create a content independent of form.<sup>12</sup>

*Devices.* From the technical aspect the following devices<sup>13</sup> may be used severally or in combination: division into stations, tableaux, or series of scenes, the use or simulation of dreams,<sup>14</sup> symbolism, primitive forms, distortion, the monologue, pause, optical counterpoint, pantomime. There is also an increased

<sup>11</sup> Short, abrupt sentences in continued succession. See Fritz von Unruh's *Platz*, Walter Hasenclever's *Die Menschen*. See also Edschmid, *op. cit.*, 65-66.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Samuel and Thomas, *Expressionism in German Life, Literature and the Theatre*, 38.

<sup>13</sup> Inasmuch as I am studying texts—actually the score sheets of drama—I am naturally ignoring the devices of the stage manager.

<sup>14</sup> The romanticist tends to lose himself in the tender dream quality of his work through an embellishment of the unsatisfying actual world. The expressionist, on the other hand, tends to employ the form of the troubled dream, in all its ecstasy as well as its horror, to give objectivity to what he experiences as the reality of life.

tempo and an incrementing of sound, which, in turn, lead to violent action and uproar. Finally, not without an eye on the classical chorus, the dramatist may employ crowds or mobs.

*Conclusion.* In concluding this brief presentation of norms I must stress the fact that an expressionistic work need not respond to each norm in all its details. A drama, for example, is strongly or weakly expressionistic to the extent that it responds to the general norms. Thus, superficially dissimilar works may be put into the same category.

### *The Analysis of 'Fadren'*

If the foregoing norms are acceptable and functional, it should be possible so to analyze *Fadren*, or any other work, that a fairly accurate evaluation may be obtained.

*The Approach.* Inasmuch as Strindberg was patently subjective in all his works—even in his so-called scientific works<sup>16</sup>—we have an a priori potentiality for expressionism. V. J. McGill sees in *Fadren* a “splendid example of Zola’s naturalism, Zola’s objections notwithstanding”;<sup>16</sup> yet he commits himself to the subjective quality of the play in the following statement: “In *The Father* which has been regarded as *The Confession of a Fool* on the stage, Strindberg follows rather closely the events of his own married life, distorting them, of course, through the mirrors and perspectives of his passion to redress his mad sense of injury, but holding throughout to the deeper significance.”<sup>17</sup> In the latter statement one readily observes the index to Strindberg’s subjective approach in *Fadren*.<sup>18</sup> Martin Lamm<sup>19</sup> and Alfred Jolivet<sup>20</sup> likewise refer to the Strindberg self which is revealed in *Fadren*, and thus they too point to the subjective quality of the work.

<sup>16</sup> See Carl Ludwig Schleich, *Those Were Good Days!* (tr. from the German by Bernard Miall), (New York: W. W. Norton, 1936), 200–222.

<sup>16</sup> *August Strindberg, the Bedeviled Viking* (New York: Brentano’s, 1930), 269–270.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>18</sup> One may be led to question McGill’s data. They are apparently derived for the most part from Strindberg’s own autobiographical novels.

<sup>19</sup> *Strindbergs dramer* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1924), I, 294 et al.

<sup>20</sup> *Le Théâtre de Strindberg* (Paris: Boivin & Cie, 1931), 150, 155–156.

*Dramatis Personae.* Under the caption *Roller* Strindberg gives the following list: "Ryttmästarn, Laura, hans hustru, Bertha, deras dotter, Doktor Östermark, Pastoren, Amman, Nöjd, Kalfaktorn." It will be observed that five are denominated professionally but only one of these is given a surname. The soldier has a name<sup>21</sup> that means "contented." The mother and daughter are called by their first names. In the text of the drama the Captain is often referred to as "Adolf,"<sup>22</sup> the old nurse as "Margret";<sup>23</sup> and the Preacher is twice called "Jonas."<sup>24</sup> There is, indeed, so little concern for the fixing of *dramatis personae* with surnames that we readily understand Zola's complaint: "Et votre capitaine qui n'a pas même de nom, vos autres personnages qui sont presque des êtres de raison, ne me donnent pas de la vie la sensation complète que je demande."<sup>25</sup>

The chief figures of this drama are the Captain and Laura, his wife. He is the universal male, deceived and cheated by woman; she, the nondescript female rather than the universal, the dramatist's convenient foil for the Captain.<sup>26</sup> The other figures, to a great extent, are only dramatic chess pieces to be moved about in relation to the principals of the battle of the sexes.<sup>27</sup> We are concerned with the fate of no individual figure;

<sup>21</sup> In a letter of December 9, 1939, Mr. Helmer Åkerman of Detroit, Michigan, wrote me as follows in reply to inquiries anent the soldier's name: "In olden times short snappy names were given the soldiers and 'båtsmän' (enlisted men in the navy), names like Stål, Frid, Blomma, Eng, etc. They were all surnames and used in preference to the first name even when the wife was talking to her husband. They were often used in definite form like Nöjden, Friden, etc."

<sup>22</sup> Strindberg, *Samlade skrifter*, XXIII (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1921), 17, 29, 32, 33, 34, 44, 53, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94. (Hereafter the *Samlade skrifter* will be indicated solely by Roman numerals referring to volume number.)

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 20, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 73, 88, 94, 95.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 83 (both).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 422-423.

<sup>26</sup> It is in *Dödsdansen* rather than in *Fadren* that Strindberg balances the two sexes carefully. One may add that in *Fadren* it is possible to regard Laura as a character definitely modified by *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*. She is interested in the battle because she wants to have her own way, but she becomes monstrous through the interpretation of the Captain. It must be admitted that her brother also adds to the picture.

<sup>27</sup> Nöjd, the soldier who is always getting into trouble with the women, is almost a comic figure. The daughter Bertha is something of a puzzle. She talks



indeed, our sympathies are directed not to the Captain as a person, as a particular fellow man, but as a representative of the male sex. We know little or nothing of the backgrounds of any of the *dramatis personae*, nor do we care. It is the general battle of the sexes that holds our attention, not the particular marital quarrel of Adolf and Laura; thus we are not interested in specific persons.

*Situation.* The fundamental conflict of *Fadren* is the struggle of the male and the female for domination, with the control of the child as a symbol of that might. While it is true that in some expressionistic dramas there is a drive toward the rapprochement of the sexes,<sup>28</sup> there is also a strong consciousness of the battle of the sexes.<sup>29</sup>

Because *Fadren* has so often been grouped with the naturalistic dramas,<sup>30</sup> one may at first be tempted to look upon the opponents in the clash as members qualified by specific milieux and heredities. But even a superficial examination of the play

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and acts like a child between eight and twelve years of age (XXIII, 35-39, 51-52). Indeed, the Preacher and the Captain mention the subject of confirmation, and presumably Bertha has not yet been given instruction (*ibid.*, 12, 17-18). This again leads us to believe that the girl must be in the neighborhood of twelve. Yet Laura says definitely that she and the Captain have been married for twenty years (*ibid.*, 27), and she also declares that Bertha was born during the third year after the marriage (*ibid.*, 42; confirmed by the Captain, *ibid.*, 64). Thus Bertha should be about seventeen years old. In support of this estimate we find mention of a young man's falling in love with the girl (*ibid.*, 16).

<sup>28</sup> This reaches at times a worship of the prostitute (see Samuel and Thomas, *Expressionism*, etc., 58). Strindberg, of course, reached reconciliation in none of his dramas.

<sup>29</sup> Max Picard makes much of the struggle of the sexes. See his "Expressionism" in *Die Erhebung*, herausgegeben von Alfred Wolfenstein (Berlin: Fischer, 1919), 329-338.

<sup>30</sup> John Landquist, the editor of the *Samlade skrifter*, has added to this interpretation by including *Fadren* in Vol. XXIII under the title "Naturalistiska sorgespel." His explanation, in part, is as follows: "Titeln till denna del har först av Strindberg använts som underrubrik till Fröken Julie (Fröken Julie. Ett naturalistiskt sorgespel) och har ansetts lämplig att begagnas som överbubrik till samtliga här ingående dramer, vilka härröra från samma period av Strindbergs liv, behandla i skilda förhållanden och gestaltningar ett gemensamt motiv (kampen om makten) och bäras av en gemensam åskådning (en antiromantisk, antimetafysisk intellektualism), XXIII, 421.

should reveal how false this view is. In fact, there is almost no attempt on the part of Strindberg to present these dramatic figures in terms of environment and heredity. In other words, the situation is not particularized as a unique domestic wrangle; it is generalized as the elemental and everlasting battle of the sexes. Note, for example, the following dialogue:<sup>31</sup>

- Ryttmästarn. Först ett ord till om verkligheter.  
Hatar du mig?  
Laura. Ja, ibland! När du är man.  
Ryttmästarn. Det är som ras-hat detta. Är det sant att vi härstämma från apan, så måtte det åtminstone ha varit från två arter. Vi äro ju inte lika varann.

And earlier in the play Laura has said, "Eget är det, men jag har aldrig kunnat se på en man, utan att känna mig överlägsen."<sup>32</sup>

*Fadren* can give the impression of a particularized domestic battle only to the hasty reader; the play is manifestly representative of a general situation, the fundamental opposition of male and female.

*Plot.* There is no question but that the action of *Fadren* moves forward in an orderly enough fashion. The sole aspect of distortion, if it can be called that, is found in the excessive compression, the Captain being driven mad in an unbelievably short period of time. The play is presented in three acts, which in turn are divided into a total of twenty-two scenes. We note that the first act is devoted not alone to explaining the situation and providing adequate background; the complication is also given. *Fadren* opens with two scenes that are comparatively light in immediate effect yet heavy with motivating power. The philandering soldier Nöjd has a girl in trouble, but he does his best to avoid responsibility by protesting that, inasmuch as paternity is not determinable in his case, he should not be made to marry the girl. This, of course, is more than a light touch to a serious drama; it is indicative of the fact that Strindberg has his plot under way in the very first two scenes. We are prepared then to find the Captain stung with suspicion at the end of the first

<sup>31</sup> XXIII, 69.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 43. See also 16, 34, 60, 63, 66-67, 91-92.

act and driven to a violent outburst at the conclusion of the second, the whole action taking place in an evening and part of the night. The third act confirms the portent of defeat for the male in the battle of the sexes.

On the basis of internal evidence alone, I think it would be unjustifiable to draw the conclusion that *Fadren* is inconceivably anything but expressionistic as regards plot. What we can say, however, is that the tempo is very rapid; moreover, Strindberg has certainly avoided all phases of action which would tend to delay the development of the situation. First, there is no undue retrospection; in truth, hardly a looking back at all.<sup>33</sup> Second, Strindberg employs no scenes for the sheer purpose of character portrayal; the *dramatis personae* are abstractions—types—and have no individual markings. Third, no time is consumed in playing to the audience. The Nöjd scene, for example, only briefly introduces an episode that could have been capitalized upon without incurring the risk of fagging the audience. Finally, inasmuch as the battle of the sexes is early in evidence, there is no need to furnish data building up a unique domestic wrangle. The plot makes possible a dynamic drama of swiftly moving events, but *Fadren* is not therefore necessarily expressionistic. Thus far we are merely in a position to insist that, from the standpoint of plot, the drama is assuredly not unthinkable as an expressionistic work.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to the internal evidence we have also external matters to consider. These I shall discuss only briefly because I have already given them due consideration in an earlier study.<sup>35</sup> I refer specifically to Strindberg's attempts to create a new type of literature,<sup>36</sup> his own comments on *Fadren*,<sup>37</sup> and the

<sup>33</sup> Act I, sc. iii, the conversation between the Captain and the Pastor, offers some insight into conditions in the former's family.

<sup>34</sup> Act II, scenes ii (50-52) and v (59-71), represent perhaps the best approaches to expressionistic development in *Fadren*. In the first scene the language suggests the supernatural; in the second it becomes impassioned and approaches the lyrical at times (note especially p. 66, the passage obviously influenced by *The Merchant of Venice*, III, i).

<sup>35</sup> *Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism*, 96-100.

<sup>36</sup> See the *Interview*, XVIII, 452-458.

<sup>37</sup> Axel Lundegård, *Några Strindbergsminnen knutna till en handfull brev* (Stockholm: Tidens, 1920), 66.

autobiographical character of the drama.<sup>38</sup> The least that one can say about this external evidence is that it points to *Fadren* as a product of *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*. In other words, the experiences which make up the action of this play are not translated from the sensuous responses of a careful observer or delivered from the fruitful imagination of a nonexperiencing author; they are, on the contrary, the product of gestation within the psyche of an experiencing agent.

*Theme.* In this drama there is no search for God,<sup>39</sup> no emphasis on the brotherhood of man, and no given index to the superior values of the subjective as opposed to the objective. The most that can be derived from this drama is that the Captain senses the inevitability of the conflict.<sup>40</sup> Yet I should not only hesitate to suggest that the theme of this play refers to the biological opposition of the sexes,<sup>41</sup> with a necessary naturalistic interpretation, I should protest that, if anything, the evidence points to supernaturalism.<sup>42</sup>

*Setting.* If we observe the setting of *Fadren*, both physically and socially, we note that Strindberg has given us the living room of an army man without even mentioning the geographic position or historical period. Indeed, one should be led to the opinion that the setting is relatively unimportant and therefore should not in the least obtrude upon the development of the situation. In this respect, the play can be regarded as decidedly not naturalistic but only indifferently expressionistic.

*The Unities.* Those who favor the strict maintenance of the dramatic unities should be delighted with Strindberg's treat-

<sup>38</sup> Martin Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1924), I, 264-301.

<sup>39</sup> The Captain is contemptuous of religion. See the references: XXIII, 8, 12, 34, 89.

<sup>40</sup> There is a realization of helplessness, a feeling that the battle is beyond both the Captain and his wife. The Captain says: "Du ville icke det skulle bli så här, jag ville det icke, och ändå blev det så. Vem råder då över livet!" (XXIII, 93).

<sup>41</sup> "The survival of the fittest," for example, is not the theme of *Fadren*.

<sup>42</sup> The passage cited in n. 40 is definitely deterministic until we reach the last sentence, "Vem råder då över livet!" This is not unrelated to the later expressionistic dramas that Strindberg wrote; and the Captain, who is openly contemptuous of religion, is nevertheless instinct with it.

ment in *Fadren*. In the physical setting, for example, he falters only in the slightest respect—the lamp broken in the second act is replaced by a new one in the third act!

With regard to the action there is obviously but one movement of events. It goes forward unrelentingly, almost diabolically, without pause or relief. The time element is likewise limited, so limited indeed that it is actually inadequate. In fact, the play is so compressed that the action in it requires but little more than twenty-four hours. We recall that Iago, on the other hand, required an unspecific amount of time to drive the Moor insane. One might consider it a circumstance of mitigating quality that Laura has been working on her husband in various ways throughout the twenty years of their married life. Yet it is only remotely possible that the seeds of suspicion could be so definitely sown in one evening and the harvest so abundantly reaped on the following night.

Unity of character is also well maintained in this work. No one completely and clearly precipitates another or reveals radical changes.<sup>43</sup>

*Language.* One looks in vain for language variations that might definitely associate *Fadren* with expressionistic dramas. It is true that on one occasion the daughter Bertha shrieks,<sup>44</sup> but this is by no means an example of *Schrei* or the ululant expression of an *ur-soul*. Again, there is no lyricism that calls for verse.<sup>45</sup> It is true that Strindberg does employ words of emotive value such that occasionally one catches the overtones of the mystical. But that is all.

*Form and Content.* Strindberg was an experimenter in the literary arts. Thus it is possible that he regarded *Fadren* as a contribution to the new literature which he had promised in 1886.<sup>46</sup> For this point of view, however, I have nothing to add to my statements of a decade ago.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The Captain's madness is a radical change, but it is introduced naturally by the author.

<sup>44</sup> XXIII, 35.

<sup>45</sup> In Act II, scene ii, the old nurse Margret reads a psalm which is composed in verse (XXIII, 50). See also n. 34, above.

<sup>46</sup> XVIII, 452-458.

<sup>47</sup> *Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism*, 98-100.

Except for the compression of the time element *Fadren* shows no striking aspects of form. The drama bears no trace of an artist's struggle to create a content without form.

*Devices.* In some of the later dramas Strindberg employed the device of stations,<sup>48</sup> but in *Fadren* he used acts and scenes. There is, in fact, little evidence of the devices that are so common to expressionistic works.<sup>49</sup> The most pronounced of all would seem to be that of the tendency toward outbursts of fury until we recall that the Captain is being driven insane and hence might well behave erratically.

#### *Evaluation*

I have now completed my analysis of *Fadren*. Thus I am in a position to commit myself regarding the relationship of the play to the expressionistic drama. Ten factors have been analyzed in terms of derived norms, and I have exercised such restraint that I believe there can be no charge of forcing the proof by seizing upon every atom of evidence. Of the ten factors I have indicated that the approach is definitely subjective. Again, important elements like *dramatis personae* and situation conform well to the requirements for expressionistic drama. Moreover, the action or plot is plausibly expressionistic although the setting is only indifferently so. The theme, the unities, language, the interplay of form and content, and special devices offer little or no evidence.

In view of this analysis I am prepared to commit myself to the following opinion: *Fadren*, although by no means a full-fledged expressionistic play, is more than a step in the direction of expressionism; it is definitely a beginning.

CARL E. W. L. DAHLSTRÖM

*University of Michigan*

<sup>48</sup> See especially the drama *Stora Landsvägen* (LI).

<sup>49</sup> Note the following (all in XXIII): the monologue, 18 (a hint), 50; pantomime, 23 (a mere hint); pause, 55, 59; recitation, 50; shriek, 35; violent outbursts, 35, 45, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 81, 82; voice offstage, 23; whispers, 83, 85.

## VARIOUS SWEDISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE ENGLISH POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE PLUS A NOUN<sup>1</sup>

An English-speaking person who approaches Swedish finds it necessary to become acquainted with various phenomena which are unfamiliar to him because of peculiarities of his native language. One of these, our teachers and textbooks commonly describe in some such way as follows: "With nouns denoting parts of the body and articles of clothing, the definite article may be employed in place of the possessive adjective<sup>2</sup> when the context makes the meaning clear." But while elementary students can be expected to absorb only so much, there is more to the story than this.

In Swedish one may say either *Sven tvättade ansiktet* or *Sven tvättade sitt ansikte*. But English does not admit such a choice: only the latter mode of expression is possible, and one must say, 'Sven washed his face,' not 'the face.'

Let us examine the phrase *sitt ansikte* as just used. It contains the following concepts: (1) possession<sup>3</sup> by (2) a particular person of (3) a definite<sup>4</sup> (4) face.

<sup>1</sup> This article has benefited from several valuable suggestions made by Professor E. Gustav Johnson of North Park College.

<sup>2</sup> We should say, instead, 'the possessive adjective or the genitive of a personal pronoun' since we should also in a descriptive presentation distinguish, as do the Swedish grammarians, between the (declinable) adjectives *min, din, vår, er, sin* and the genitives *hans, hennes, dess, deras*. Of the American grammars of Swedish now in use, only Professor Uppvall's (*Swedish Grammar and Reader*, New York, 1938) differentiates between these. In the present article we shall employ the abridged term 'possessive-genitive' when the reference is to Swedish, and 'possessive(-genitive)' when the reference is to both English and Swedish.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'possession, possessor, possess' are in this article used in a broad sense not limited to ownership. Indeed, it is often a question of mere connection or association. We do not think of ourselves as owning our friends, parents, hands and so forth; if we say 'I took my hat off,' we are usually not thinking of ownership (it might even be a borrowed hat). It is in this general sense that the terms 'possessive adjectives (pronouns)' and 'possessive case' are regularly employed in grammatical nomenclature.

<sup>4</sup> A noun modified by a possessive adjective or by a genitive (of pronoun or noun) has *ipso facto* definite meaning and therefore does not employ the article (but observe exception in n. 5). The use of the definite form of a descriptive ad-

It is possible to say *Sven tvättade ansiktet*, without the use of *sitt*, because (1) possession is inferred from the fact that *ansikte*, on account of what it denotes, is intimately associated with a person, its natural possessor, and because (2) it is clear that this possessor is Sven for the reason that *Sven* is the subject of the sentence.

This disposes of the first two of the four parts of the meaning. All that is needed besides is that the noun have the suffixed definite article—the morphological label of definiteness which appertains to a Swedish common noun (in non-vocative use) when it is not modified by another limiting adjective or by a genitive.<sup>6</sup> The form *ansiktet* embraces the third and fourth parts of the meaning.

What has just been said must not, however, be understood to imply that this mode of expression is a development from (i.e., a simplification of) the type *sitt ansikte*, and that the possessive-genitive<sup>6</sup> has been left out as being dispensable.

For to a Swede, when he is speaking (or hearing, writing, or reading), the employment of the definite article has in such cases nothing to do with the idea of the possessive-genitive. When he says *Sven tvättade ansiktet*, there is in his mind no consciousness of its being equivalent to *Sven tvättade sitt ansikte*; there is simply no doubt as to whose the face is. And one senses no variation in the function of the definite article in reading "*Z*" *såg ned i golvet och funderade en stund, där han stod med cigarren i munnen, hatten på huvudet, händerna på ryggen, och ryggen mot kakelugnen.*

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jective after a possessive adjective or a genitive is a morphological indication of this definiteness of meaning, as in *min gamla mössa* (cf. *en gammal mössa*).

<sup>6</sup> For the term 'suffixed definite article,' see *Scandinavian Studies*, XV (1939), 160-161. The suffixed article is included in the term 'limiting adjectives.'—Two types of expression in which nouns have definite meaning although they are without the definite article will be met below. The suffixed definite article is used with nouns modified by certain limiting adjectives, despite the fact that these themselves impart definite meaning, as in *den* (*den där, den här*) *gossen, denna gosse(n)*. In the popular styles (for the definition of these, see *Scandinavian Studies*, XV, 1938, 4) the possessive-genitive often follows its noun; except for most nouns indicating kinship, the noun then has the definite form, as *gossen min, boken hans, far min, hustru hans* (or *hustrun hans*).

<sup>6</sup> See n. 2.



For this reason the Swedish grammarians, even Karl Ågren in *Om användningen av bestämd slutartikel i svenskan*,<sup>7</sup> have no occasion to discuss this type of expression from the point of view of its being equivalent to the possessive-genitive plus a noun; at the most they may include a sentence of the kind in question among examples illustrating the meaning of the definite article, but by no means under the heading of a separate category.

It is in this way that Beckman cites such an example in his *Svensk språklära*.<sup>8</sup> What he says concerning it is of interest to us: "Bestämda formens grundbetydelse är . . . att beteckna en sak såsom förut bekant. Ofta . . . är saken bekant därför, att den är nyss omtalad. Men då vi säga *Solen lyser*, så kunna vi använda best. form, emedan *solen*, vår sol, är oss alla alltid bekant. Säger jag *Jag gick på gatan*. *Bäst det var*, bläste hatten av huvudet, så har jag ej talt om hatt eller huvud förut, men de höra så bestämt till en person, som går på gatan, att jag kan lämna åt åhöraren att tänka sig dem." Beckman thus equates the use, in such sentences, of the definite form of *sol* with the use of that of *hatt* and of *huvud*.

Let us examine the following passage: *Hon knackade på dörren*. [She entered.] *Kyrkoherden satt i sin gungstol med en predikosamling i knät och ett häfte skrivpapper bredvid på bordet*. Just as the parson naturally has a knee, so his study can be expected to contain a table. These two nouns are treated alike in Swedish, but in English we differentiate them by saying 'the table,' but 'his knee.' We might consider also this passage: *Lisa gick åter hem . . . Sedan gick hon uppför trappan upp på sitt rum*. *Hon kastade sig på soffan och borrarade ned ansiktet i kuddarna*. The reader does not feel *ansiktet* to be used differently from the other nouns that have the definite article: he knows that the stairs are a part of the house to which it is evident that Lisa went, that the sofa is a part of the furnishings of her room, that the pillows are on the sofa, and that the face that she buries in the pillows is a part of her. These are natural circumstances that are not reasoned out in either language. In the

<sup>7</sup> Uppsala, 1912.

<sup>8</sup> Stockholm, 1935, 8th ed., §21, 1.

case of *ansiktet*, to be sure, English must, and Swedish may, employ a form of expression suggestive of such thinking, 'her face,' although this is not the result of conscious thought but is merely a habit of speech.

There exist certain kinds of nouns, such as *ansikte*, that denote something that is associated closely and universally with the idea of a person.<sup>9</sup> These nouns, the things denoted by which we naturally think of as pertaining to a person, we shall call nouns of personal relation.<sup>10</sup>

To be sure, nouns of personal relation need not, and often do not, associate themselves with a particular person. For example: *Hjärtat är ett till vänster i brösthålan beläget organ. Hon lagade kappan. Sätt på dig hatten, som du köpte i går!* In these sentences the definite article is employed, respectively: to denote a class in its entirety; to point back to a previous mention; and to point forward to a coming determination. Such sentences as these, however, are not our concern here.

But in certain other contextual patterns than those just mentioned, the meaning inherent in nouns of personal relation causes them to be readily associated with a specific person who, owing to immediate or more remote mention, is prominent in the minds of speaker and hearer in such a way that the fact of connection is unmistakable. The establishing of this connection is as sure as is the determining through context<sup>11</sup> of any other sentence detail—so sure, indeed, that it should not need to be specially pointed out by means of a possessive(-genitive).<sup>12</sup> In Swedish the definite article is then used. When the identity of the possessor would not be clear, be it that the noun of personal relation is to be associated with a person other than the

<sup>9</sup> For convenience we say 'person,' although it should really be 'human being, animal, or plant.'

<sup>10</sup> Ågren, in speaking of nouns of this type that sometimes do not add the definite article when they have definite meaning, uses the expressions "genom sin possessiva betydelse" (p. 39) and "possessionsförhållandet" (p. 45).

<sup>11</sup> What we call context may involve anything from a phrase, clause, or sentence to a paragraph or sometimes much more than that; and often it is a question of the general situation, i.e., of what is in the mind of the speaker and of what he thinks is clear to the person to whom he is speaking.

<sup>12</sup> For this term, see n. 2.

one who is uppermost in the minds of speaker and hearer, or be it that, on account of the construction of the sentence, the obviousness of the connection is obscured, Swedish employs the possessive-genitive.<sup>13</sup> But also when the identity of the possessor is clear, Swedish may use the possessive-genitive with the noun; and, except when emphasis is involved, such use furnishes no new element of meaning, but is in reality tautological. In English, on the other hand, the possessive adjective<sup>14</sup> must be employed, whether the context makes the association with a particular individual clear or not.

To sum up: A noun of personal relation is one that denotes something that is closely and universally associated with a person. When a noun denoting a person is present in the minds of speaker and hearer, a noun of personal relation, if the context is favorable, readily associates itself with the noun denoting that person. Yet, with such nouns, under these conditions, English requires the use of a possessive adjective. Swedish can employ either the definite article or a possessive-genitive.

The use of the definite article with nouns of personal relation under such circumstances is wide-spread among the Indo-European languages, occurring, outside of Scandinavian, for example, in other Germanic languages (with the noteworthy exception of English), in Romance languages, and in Greek. The definite article was non-existent in the Indo-European mother tongue; and various languages, e.g., Slavic, Latin, and Sanskrit, have not evolved one, but employ instead the mere noun, which can also have definite meaning (as in the pattern: 'Man closed eyes').<sup>15</sup> In all of these languages the general situation is the same as in Swedish, but details vary from language to language.

The form of expression with the definite article is the normal

<sup>13</sup> Or the sentence is phrased in some other way, as will be seen below, to make the association clear.

<sup>14</sup> When the noun of personal relation associates itself with the indefinite pronoun *man*, 'one's' or a possessive adjective is used in the English rendition; cf. *Det var mörkt, så att man knappast såg händerna för ögonen*.

<sup>15</sup> Even in the present-day form of languages that have developed a definite article, we find survivals of the old state of affairs.

one. It is therefore not this usage of Swedish that stands out but rather the optional employment by it, as by other languages, of the possessive-genitive, and even more the use by English of only the second of these alternatives.

It is not the purpose of the present article to describe the behavior of nouns of personal relation, but to consider the sorts of sentences which in Swedish use either the definite article or the possessive-genitive, and which in English, on the contrary, require a possessive adjective.<sup>16</sup> We shall now, after a few preliminary characterizations, proceed to the examination of these types of sentences.

The possessor is almost always a person, but may be an animal or a plant.<sup>17</sup> *Katten satte svansen i vädret. Aldriga rosor tappa lätt bladen.* Personification is sometimes encountered. *Naturen sluter ögonen, natten råder. Upproret tycktes åter vilja sticka upp huvudet.*

Nouns of personal relation, in accordance with what they denote, readily fall into groups: (1) the body and its parts; (2) clothes, articles of clothing, parts of these such as *ficka*, *ärm*, *klack*, and accessories such as *näsduk*, *glasögon*, *käpp*, *pipa*, *klocka* ('watch'); (3) attributes such as *famn*, *liv* ('life'), *tillvaro*, *hjärta* (in figurative use), *sida* (of the body), *gestalt*, *hy*, *drag*, *ansiktsdrag*, *röst*, *stämma*, *blick*, *anda*, *andedräkt*, *själ*, *hälsa*, *tillstånd*, *humör*, *minne*, *förstånd*, *vett*, *sans*, *samvete*, *mod*, *tålmod*, *tanke* (usually plural), *håg*, *sinne*, *sömn*, *tårar*, *gråt*, *krafter*, *arbetskraft*, *styrka*, *steg*; (4) activities such as *arbete*, *yrke*, *studier*; (5) period or point of life such as *barndom*, *ålderdom*, *ungdomsår*, *studieår*, *dödsbudd*;<sup>18</sup> (6) place of nativity or of residence such

<sup>16</sup> Most of the Swedish sentences cited in this article have a possessive adjective in their English rendition. But there are a few for which the English equivalents, while not equated with the Swedish by use of the article, do not employ possessive adjectives either.

<sup>17</sup> For the sake of brevity, no further mention will be made of animals and plants. The term 'person(s)' may be taken to include them.

<sup>18</sup> Words of categories 4 and 5 such as *barndom*, *ålderdom*, *arbete* and a few of category 3 such as *mod* are in English often, in an alternative form of expression, used by themselves, without a possessive adjective (as, 'childhood'). Similar to these, and, in general, to nouns of personal relation, are such as have to do with movements: *återkomst*, *ankomst*, *framkomst*, *avresa* (*Emanuel Swedenborg studerade . . . i England. Efter hemkomsten blev han Polhems medarbetare*).

as *hem, hemland, hemstad, fädernestad, fädernesland, fosterland, fosterbygd, föräldrahem, barndomshem*; (7) relatives; (8) close associates such as *vän(inna), umgängesvänner, kamrat, reskamrat, husbonde*.

Nouns of groups 2-8 occur more often in situations in which they do not associate themselves with a specific person than do those denoting the body and its parts—this for obvious reasons. Compare, for example, *Hon tvättade strumporna* with *Hon tvättade händerna* and *Han borstade hatten* with *Han tog av hatten*. In the first and third sentences the reflexive possessive adjective must be used if possession is to be understood.

When there is more than one possessor, Swedish under certain conditions employs the singular instead of the plural of the noun denoting that which is possessed. *Han mötte två män med bössor på axeln. De skyndade att gömma huvudet under vingen på nytt. Alla fäbodjäsenterna hade lagt ner sina handarbeten i knäet.*

The noun denoting that which is possessed may stand in the base-form (oftenest as the object of a verb or of a preposition, but also in the subject relation), or it may stand in the genitive.

The nouns are in the great majority of instances unmodified, but sometimes a descriptive adjective is present. *Så kom Krampa in i salen med det rika, mörka håret i oordning kring den höga pannan. Gossen sträckte mot henne icke endast handen utan öppna famnen.* But the severe and eminent styles more frequently than not, and the popular styles<sup>19</sup> always, employ a possessive-genitive when an adjective modifies the noun.

When there is a desire for emphasis, through which generally the identity of the possessor is stressed instead of, or at any rate more than, the fact of possession,<sup>20</sup> the possessive-genitive is employed. But emphasis of these factors is not often called for in the kind of sentence under discussion. In the sentence *Hon kastade sina armar om hans hals*, the phrase *sina armar* involves no more emphasis than *armarna* would have done or than *hans*

<sup>19</sup> For the names of the styles, see *Scandinavian Studies*, XV (1938), 3-7. It should be kept in mind that features of the popular styles often occur in belletristic prose and in poetry; see *Scandinavian Studies*, XV (1938), 33-41.

<sup>20</sup> These two elements of meaning naturally never occur separately.

*hals* does,<sup>21</sup> for which latter, as here used, there is no like alternative. Occasionally there is emphasis on the fact of possession (at times concomitantly of the identity of the possessor), which is accomplished through the placing of *egen*, the possessive counterpart of the intensive pronoun *själv*, after the possessive-genitive.<sup>22</sup>

Swedish may, as has already been stated, employ the possessive-genitive as an equivalent of the mode of expression with the definite article,<sup>23</sup> and it does this very freely; in addition to the sentence just cited, let one illustration suffice: *Han räckte henne handen* (or *sin hand*) *till hälsning*. Examples with both types in the same sentence or clause: *Hon lutade huvudet mot sina händer och grät. Nu drog hon likväl tillbaka sin arm och sitt huvud och satt stilla med händerna i knäet. Jag kan ännu se, hur jag tog min rock på armen, satte hatten på mitt huvud. . . . Han skakade häftigt sitt yviga hår, rynkade de buskiga ögonbrynen*. Such alternation is frequently due to the desire for stylistic variation.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the ensuing discussion the reader must constantly keep in mind that Swedish may generally speaking employ the possessive-genitive instead of the definite article in each type of expression. In some instances, however, the possessive-genitive would sound awkward<sup>25</sup> and would probably never be used.<sup>26</sup>

The Swedish sentences which contain nouns of personal relation used under the circumstances that we have been discussing may be divided, for our purposes, into two categories: first, that in which the identity of the possessor is naturally clear

<sup>21</sup> In this particular sentence *hans* could under rarely occurring contextual conditions be emphatic, but not *sina*.

<sup>22</sup> The emphatic use of the possessive-genitive and the employment of *egen* are of course not limited to nouns of personal relation.

<sup>23</sup> Equivalent except, sometimes, for style distinctions. Now and again rhythm or euphony seems to be the determining factor.

<sup>24</sup> An accumulation of nouns so used does not by any means have to be avoided. Note *Här satte Marit sig på en träbänk och stödde armarna mot knäna och hakan mot handen*. See also the example cited above, beginning "*Z*" *såg ned*.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, in the sentence referred to at the end of n. 24.

<sup>26</sup> One particularly avoids variation among the members of a co-ordinate group, as in *Han tog av mössan och vantarna*.

from the context; and second, that in which the identity is made clear without the use of a possessive-genitive.<sup>27</sup>

To the former of these categories belong all the examples hitherto cited. In sentences of this type by far the commonest situation is that the subject of a simple sentence or of a clause designates the possessor, and that that which is possessed is (1) the object of the verb (*Hon gned ögonen. Jag märkte, att han hade något i sinnet*) or (2) the object of a preposition (*Han skakade på huvudet. Jag bad honom sjunga ut med vad han hade på hjärtat*). There may be duplications of either<sup>28</sup> (*Han skadade både handen och foten. Han stod där med hatten i handen*) or combinations of both (*Jag stack handen i fickan*). An infinitive is often involved. *Låt mig hämta andan först! Men så kände han armarna värka av trötthet. Han hade känt något ljust ila genom sinnet. Utan att öppna ögonen sträckte hon ut handen*. Examples of the genitive: *Dessa vanor, som han behövde för hälsans och lynnets skull. . . . Hon sörjde honom ur hjärtats djup*.

In other types of sentences the identity of the possessor may be clear from—to name only the more interesting possibilities—the subject of a preceding, or occasionally from that of a following, subordinate clause; from the subject of a preceding co-ordinate clause or of a preceding sentence; or from the fact that the general context points to a particular person who is in the speaker's mind.<sup>29</sup> In sentences of these types, that which is possessed may be treated in one of the ways indicated in the foregoing paragraph or it may be the subject of a clause or of a sentence. The identity of the possessor is clear owing to mention in a preceding principal clause in *Han gnodde, så att svetten pärlade ur pannan* and in *Han stannade tills ögonen började vänja sig vid mörkret*; owing to mention in a following subordinate clause in *Ansiktet blev ett helt annat, då hon åter sjönk*

<sup>27</sup> Sentences in which it could not be made clear without the employment of a possessive-genitive do not concern us, since the usage is then that of English.

<sup>28</sup> Two or more nouns of definite meaning used in parallel construction generally employ no article, as will be seen below.

<sup>29</sup> Not in all sentences and clauses, however, in the situations named, can the article be employed, since factors of sentence construction often obscure the association.

ned på bänken; owing to mention in a preceding subordinate clause in *Men nu, då han skall teckna å kallelsen, skälver handen . . .* The possessor is mentioned in a preceding co-ordinate clause in *Hon var hungrig och trött, skorna började redan gå sönder*. The possessor is mentioned in a preceding sentence in the passage: *Prosten ville resa sig men föll tungt ner mot kudden. Det stockade sig kring halsen och kring läpparna steg fradga*. And in: *Men sedan fann han inga ord. Hjärtat började slå så häftigt, som om det ville spränga bröstet*. The situation precludes doubt as to the identity of the possessor in *Å, vad det kliar i näsan!* It is interesting to note how clear it is in the following sentence what pertains to the dog and what to the man: *Då herr Arild bröt in i snäret, såg han karlen ligga kullslagen på marken och hunden stå över honom med fötterna på bröstet och gapet om strupen*.

The possessor may be indicated by a genitive in the preceding clause<sup>30</sup> (*En blick på adjunktens vänstra hand, som vilade tryggt mot knät, gav den oerhörda vissheten. Miss Elisabeths drag hade stelnat och i ögonen skimrade ofta ett skrämt uttryck*) or by a genitive in the same clause (*Linds mössa flög av huvudet*).

The noun sometimes appertains to a preceding personal object in its own clause. *Den starka farten betog honom andan. Det kan kosta dig livet. Hon hjälpte dem på med ytterkläderna. Göran höll konungen uppe på de darrande benen*. Observe the type *Benen sveko honom. Här svek honom rösten*. Under other contextual circumstances the association is with the subject although there is present a personal object involving the mention of a different person. *Då tog pappa honom på axlarna och bar honom. Gertrud räckte Gabriel tyst handen*.

English as well as Swedish employs the definite article with nouns of group 1 and group 2 in three types of sentences: (1) *Hon nöp honom i armen. Men Stina grep henne i kjolen. Han gav honom en klapp på axeln*. In these three functions as the

<sup>30</sup> Observe the examples: *Ju längre han såg, desto klarare började hans stora ögon glänsa, och gestalten tycktes växa. Smirre älskade prakt och hans päls var skinande röd, bröstet var vitt, nosen svart och svansen yvig som en plym*. Sometimes, as here, the genitive of a personal pronoun is used with the first of two or more nouns of personal relation functioning as subjects.



object a personal pronoun denoting someone to whom someone else does something, followed by a prepositional phrase showing the part of the body or the article of clothing affected.<sup>31</sup> (2) *Han fick en knuff i axeln. Han kände ett styg i hjärtat. Jarro träffades i bröstet. Han blev av denne tagen i armen och förd. . . .* In these the object just mentioned becomes the subject. (3) *Du är vitt som ett lakan i ansiktet. De gjorde dem yra i huvudet med sitt fladdrande. Johan känner sig torr i halsen.* In these a predicate adjective complementing a personal subject or a personal object is followed by a prepositional phrase that indicates what is concerned. One can in both languages, to be sure, employ the possessive(-genitive) in most sentences belonging to these three subdivisions, but such use is not common. When sentences which belong to subdivision 1 have the possessive(-genitive), either the preposition is retained (*Ingemar strök sakta över hennes hår*) or the noun becomes the object of the verb. In English the possessive adjective is employed when a descriptive adjective modifies the noun; cf. *Han strök henne över det blåsvarta håret*. In sentences of subdivision 3, further, English must sometimes use a possessive adjective; cf. *Jag var så torr på tungan efter allt dammet från hästarna*, 'My tongue was so dry. . . .'

In sentences like those of subdivision 1 in the preceding paragraph, but with a reflexive direct object (*Jag skar mig i fingret. Otto strök sig över pannan. Han strök sig om skägget. Han gnuggade sig i ögonen. Han torkade sig om munnen. Han stod och bet sig i läppen*), English employs a possessive adjective, using the noun as the direct object, as 'He stroked his beard.' Swedish sometimes does the same. *Han rev sitt hår* (= *Han rev sig i håret*). English can often, to be sure, also employ the article ('I bit myself in the tongue'). Swedish may in the case of most such expressions follow one of the two types: *Han stod och bet i läppen. Han gnuggade ögonen.*

In place of the type *Han tog av mössan*, we more often encounter the type *Han tog av sig mössan*,<sup>32</sup> indeed, in some sentences of this kind the reflexive pronoun must be employed. Examples: *Han satte på sig hatten. Och pastorn ställde genast*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the same type with a noun. *Men så tog han Emil i handen.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the same type with other nouns. *Han skakade av sig vattnet.*

*ifrån sig hatten. Han bröt av sig benen. Han talade halsen av sig. Tag av er mössorna!* Sometimes we find the reflexive pronoun beside the reflexive possessive adjective. *Förskräckt kastade jag på mig mina kläder. Sedan drogo de tyst av sig sina egna ytterplagg.*

The examples hitherto cited have all dealt with nouns from groups 1, 2, and 3. Nouns belonging to groups 4-8 occur, in general, in sentence types similar to those of the first three groups, but they show greater freedom in the method of indicating the possessor. *Bredvid Ingemar sitter brodern. Minnet av modern stod för Rydberg hela hans liv i förklarad dager. Man läse t.ex. hans ungdomsbrev till vännen Heurlin. Hans plikt mot fosterlandet. Det hade ju också dragit med sig ovänskap mellan Gudmund och fästmän.* On the whole, the nouns of groups 4-8 are, in the usage under discussion, foreign to the popular styles, which in most cases employ with them the possessive-genitive.

The definite form of nouns denoting kinship is employed to correspond to the English possessive if the relatives are not those of the person speaking nor of the person spoken to. In these latter eventualities the possessive-genitive is used. But the popular styles, when the relatives are those of the person speaking or of the person spoken to (especially when children are addressed), more often employ, instead of the noun with the possessive-genitive, the indefinite form of the noun, which is then comparable to a proper noun; this is also often done in the case of the relatives of a person who is being spoken of. *Jag skall säga till far, att han köper ett helt dussin liar av dig. Vad säger far om det, tror du? Han förstod nu, att hon inte längre letade efter far.* The definite form is used instead of the indefinite, however, if the noun is in the plural or if it denotes a relative by marriage or a relative in a non-ascending degree (except for *bror*, *syster*, and *sväger*). *Tag av dig hatten för farbröderna! Hälsa fästmän!*<sup>22</sup> In the case of nouns denoting close associates, the employment of the definite article is not thus restricted as to person. *Vi återvände till Uppsala och kamraterna.*

Examples of sentences with nouns from groups 4-8: *Stina är lika vacker som systemen. Han föddes 1707 i Lund, där fadern då var professor. Han har ingått som delägare i faderns affär. Hon*

<sup>22</sup> The above is in part based on Olof Östergren's discussion of *din* in *Nu-svensk ordbok* (Stockholm, 1919—).

*hade lyckats alldeles förträffligt och kamraterna hade gratulerat. I september 1816 skrev Tegnér till vännen Lindblad. Han jagade honom för kamratens skull. I föräldrahemmet och bland umgängesvännerna synes han däremot ha varit ganska sällskaplig. Broder Ruben följde honom genom hela livet ända till dödsbädden. Nu på ålderdomen hade han slutat upp att arbeta. Han berättade också om ungdomsårens kännbaraste nederlag. Han ensam håller sig kvar vid livet och yrket.*

We come now to the second of the two categories, which concerns sentences in which the noun of personal relation is to be associated with a person other than the one uppermost in the minds of speaker and hearer, and also those sentences in which, on account of factors of sentence construction, the obviousness of the relation is obscured. This, then, is the proper sphere for the exclusive use of the possessive-genitive: *När adjunkten träffade dem, förmörkades hans ansikte.* Consider also the passage: *Prästen var ung. . . . Om man välvt en hjälm över hans huvud. . . .* But the possessive-genitive is by no means employed under all such circumstances; for the use of the definite article can often be made possible through a recasting of the construction concerned. The identity of the possessor thus becomes clear without the use of a possessive-genitive.

When we would normally have an intransitive (less often a transitive, occasionally a passive) verb followed by a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition, a possessive-genitive (rarely the reflexive possessive adjective), and a noun of personal relation of group 1 or group 3 (or, occasionally, of group 2),<sup>34</sup> then there is often employed instead of this phrase the corresponding personal pronoun,<sup>35</sup> used as what is syntactically the dative object, followed by the preposition plus the noun in the definite form.<sup>36</sup> For instance, instead of *Kulorna veno om hans öron* we have *Kulorna veno honom om öronen*. This usage

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the same type with the noun *väg*. *Han körde undan dem, som stodo honom i vägen.* Note the variant expression in *Han ställde sig i vägen för mig.*

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the same type with a noun. *Tårarna sprungit den vuxne mannen i ögonen.*

<sup>36</sup> Occasionally this form of expression is used in sentences in which the identity of the possessor would not be in doubt. *Men alltid lät han tillfället gå sig ur händerna* (note reflexive pronoun). *Men då hon kom närmare, stego henne tårarna i ögonen.*

is characteristic of the severe and eminent styles. Examples: *Siri flög henne jublande om halsen. Nu gick lyckan henne ur händerna. Plötsligen kommo ett par rim mig på tungan. Tårarna strömmade henne utför kinderna. Gråten satt henne i halsen, längtan i hjärtat. Detta ligger mig på hjärtat. Då blev det honom varmt om hjärtat. Nyckeln föll henne ur handen. Det stora fyndet hade gått dem åt huvudet. Rodnaden steg henne högt upp i kinderna. Det hade alldeles fallit mig ur minnet. Och i dag låg honom kappan i tankarna. Det ligger dig i blodet att spela. Som om Roberts ord fastnat honom i halsen. . . . Då<sup>27</sup> steg<sup>28</sup> honom<sup>28</sup> vreden<sup>28</sup> i pannan. Allvaret hade ännu ej ryckt henne in på livet. Men lukten av festmat satt dem envist i kläderna. Hon stördes av att Ivar trampade henne på klänningen. Jag skall driva honom den oreña papistiska andan av hjärtat. Hon viskade honom något i örat. Ty då kastar jag dig i ansiktet den anklagelsen, att. . . . Kläderna sletos dem av kroppen. Hemligheten hade blivit ryckt henne ur händerna. Observe, with reflexive pronoun, the type: *Donna Micaelas far hade satt sig i sinnet, att. . . .**

Sentences like *Han såg (stirrade) henne i ansiktet* usually employ the definite article in both languages;<sup>27</sup> but English must use the possessive adjective when a descriptive adjective modifies the noun (cf. *Han såg henne in i de frimodiga ögonen*) and in some other sentence types (cf. *Han såg henne djupt in i ögonen*, but *Hon såg honom oförskräckt rätt in i ögonen*).

This second general category also includes another type of expression, in which the definite form of a noun of personal relation from group 1 (or, occasionally, from group 2 or group 3), when it is the subject or the object of a verb or, far oftener, the object of a preposition, is followed by a prepositional phrase which consists of *på* and a personal non-reflexive pronoun, and which is equivalent to the possessive-genitive (cf. *foten på glaset* = *glasets fot*), as *Tårarna stego i ögonen på mig*.<sup>28</sup> This type is characteristic of the popular styles. With unlike style value, one can say either *Orden fastnade honom i halsen* or *Orden*

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the same type with a noun. *Han såg Lisa i ögonen*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the same type with a noun. *Han slungade en snöboll i nacken på Klas*.

*fastnade i halsen på honom.* Indeed, when the noun of personal relation belongs to group 1 or group 2, the dative expressions can in most instances be changed into prepositional ones; but this can usually not be done if the noun belongs to group 3. There exist, on the other hand, several types of sentences with prepositional expressions containing a noun from group 1 or group 2 which can not be made dative. Transitive verbs occur oftener in the prepositional type than in that with the dative. Examples of the two object types: *De bundo händerna på honom. De slog ut några tänder på honom. Han kom bara ihåg, att pojken nyss hade räddat livet på honom. Han slog av hatten på honom. Hjärtat bultade i bröstet på honom. Men över huvudena på oss hänger ett moln så mörkt och blått som en hagelsky. Denna tanke slöt genom huvudet på honom. Ögonen rullade och gnistrade i huvudet på dem. Det kluckade i halsen på henne. Solen bländade i ansiktet på oss. Trasorna, som, i stället för byxor, hängde kring benen på dem. . . . Då stodo fienderna tätt på livet på mig. Kallsvetten bröt fram i pannan på honom. Hon tryckte ett mynt i handen på honom. Han kastade en sten i huvudet på mig. Han satte mössan på huvudet på honom. Ögonen vände sig i huvudet på honom. Hon hängde sig om halsen på honom.* Examples of the subject type: *Och ögonen började stråla på henne. Strupen snördes samman på honom. Hjärtat var ofta tungt på honom.*

As a parallel to the type *Han tog av mössan* (cf. *Han tog av sig mössan*), we have, when the reference is to a different person, a preposition plus a non-reflexive personal pronoun.<sup>39</sup> *Räven skulle just till att bita av henne strupen. De hade nära nog bultat livet ur honom. Hon hann honom snart och slog hatten av honom för att förmå honom att stanna.* One can also say, for example: *Räven skulle just till att bita av strupen på henne. Hon slog av hatten på honom.* In certain situations we can say in English: 'It was cowardly to knock the glasses off him.' 'I'll run the legs off you.'

The indefinite form of a number of nouns denoting parts of the body is in certain expressions employed as the object of a

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the same type with a noun. *Hon såg ut, som om hon kunnat riva ögonen ur grevinnan.*

verb or of a preposition, while English uses instead a possessive adjective and a noun.<sup>40</sup> *Han måste krypa på knä för att komma in. Han låg på rygg och sov. Men snart äro de på fötter igen. Han stod i kulissen och skar tänder.* The subject, as illustrated, or sometimes the object (*Han hade lagt Sten på rygg*), is the possessor. The chief expressions which occur are:<sup>41</sup> *taga till fötter; komma* (or *stå, vara, sätta, ställa, hjälpa, bringa*) *på fötter; smyga* (*kliva, gå, stå, följa*) *på tå; falla* (*ligga, krypa, sjunka, stå, ställa sig, lägga sig, kasta sig, bringa, få*) *på knä; sitta i knä på; böja knä; kyssa på hand; lägga hand på* (or *vid*); *hava för händer; gå på händer; klappa händer* (or *i händer*); *vrida händer; peka finger; taga* (*hålla*) *i famn; kröka* (*skjuta*) *rygg; ligga* (*simma, falla, välla sig, vända sig, lägga, lägga sig*) *på rygg; ligga* (*falla, vända sig*) *på mage; ligga på sida; skära* (*hacka, visa*) *tänder; böja* (*sträcka*) *hals; skära* (*klyva*) *näbb; hänga läpp; hålla käft; falla* (*stupa, ligga, stå*) *på näsa.*

Particularly common is the use of *hand, händer*; beside the expressions cited, note *med beviset i hand, stå med hatten i hand*, and so forth (cf. 'to have the situation in hand'). Old case forms occur in *till handa* (*Har brevet kommit er till handa?*)<sup>42</sup> and in the archaic *i handom* (*Med beviset i handom. Allt gick dem väl i handom*),<sup>43</sup> now *i händer(na)*.

The possessive adjective is used in English also in rendering expressions like *komma till krafter* (*Om vi en gång komma till krafter igen . . .*), *återkomma till sans, växla* (*byta*) *sinne, ändra åsikt* (or *mening, tankar*), *byta om håg*.<sup>44</sup> Observe also: *behålla*

<sup>40</sup> This usage is a survival from the time when Swedish did not yet have a definite article. Ågren says (p. 39): "Detta särskilt med hänsyn till att namn på kroppsdelar senare [än andra substantiv] antogo artikel på grund av att de genom sin possessiva betydelse hade en viss deiktisk bestämdhet."—Cf. 'He trod it under foot.' 'He took it to heart.'

<sup>41</sup> Expressions like *Låt maten tysta mun!* do not belong here; *mun* stands for both *mun* and *munnen* in the popular styles. *Hand*, in its pronunciation as *hann*, can similarly represent *handen*, as in *Britta viskade, att Lisa bara skulle låtsas, att hon lade något i hand på henne* (this is the type *Orden fastnade i halsen på honom*). But in *med beviset i hand, dö med vapen i hand, lägga hand på*, and so forth, *hand* represents the form without the article.

<sup>42</sup> This is related to the type *Kulorna veno honom om öronen*.

<sup>43</sup> See n. 42.

<sup>44</sup> Note also the use of the possessive adjective in English in cases such as:

*någon i åtanke* or *i minne(t)*; cf. 'to have (keep) someone (something) in mind.'

In most of the expressions cited the definite form may also be employed as an equivalent. *Han tog till fötterna. Han skar tänderna hörbart. Han låg på ryggen. De klappade händerna* (or *i händerna*). There often exists, however, a slight difference in meaning in that, when the indefinite form is used, noun and verb combine into a verbal concept; note that *böja knä* = *knäböja*, 'kneel.' Sometimes there is a more pronounced distinction; *gå på tå*, for instance, implies cautious, noiseless walking as our verb 'to tiptoe.'<sup>46</sup>

In pairs or series of nouns Swedish generally employs neither the definite article nor the possessive-genitive.<sup>46</sup> *Han bröt av sig armar och ben. Han tog på sig hatt och kostä.*<sup>47</sup> *Han tvättade ansikte, hals och händer. Och han kände en lätt rysning över nacke och skuldror. Förföljd av moders och systers vanmäktiga jämmer. . . . Han kröp på händer och fötter ut på myren. Jag surrade ett par segelgarmsändar om händer och fötter på honom.*<sup>48</sup> *Om jag får behålla hälsa och krafter. . . . Han började darra från huvud till fot. Han åt så slarvigt, att han ständigt spillde på rock och väst, på duk och servett.* Such usage also concerns other nouns than those of personal relation. *De åkande lyckades rädda sig men häst och släde försvunno i vaken* (note also *på duk och servett* above). This form of expression is also to be found in English: 'Thus father and son were left together.' 'He took the coin between thumb and finger.' 'Both horse and rider were killed.' Many Swedish sentences, however, require in their English renditions the possessive adjective in the case of nouns of personal relation, and the definite article in the case of other nouns. With reference now to nouns of personal relation, Swedish can, to be sure—though it would sometimes be awkward—use the

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*Han reste till Rom, då Umberto och Margherita firade silverbröllop. De visste nog, att han skulle hålla ord. (Observe the definite article in Men du får inte ta honom på orden.)*

<sup>46</sup> The above is in part based on Ågren, pp. 38-42.

<sup>47</sup> This is also a survival of the kind indicated in n. 40.

<sup>48</sup> These two sentences are related to the type *Han tog av sig mössan*.

<sup>49</sup> This is related to the type *Orden fastnade i halsen på honom*.

article (*Han slänger av sig västen och mössan*)<sup>49</sup> or the possessive-genitive. It is possible that the nouns are thought of more individually when these variants are employed. In connection with the assertion that nouns denoting relatives, parts of the body, and articles of clothing (which are nouns of personal relation) form the basic groups concerned in this usage, Ågren<sup>50</sup> makes the observation that in the case of the groups named the expressions are in most instances employed also in the popular styles (he uses the term "talspråk") but that in sentences with other kinds of nouns (as in *Regering och riksdag ha kommit till samma resultat*) such use is largely limited to "skönliterär prosa."<sup>51</sup>

We shall now conclude by characterizing briefly several matters that have no direct bearing on the problem of nouns of personal relation, but which, while the definite article is not concerned, nevertheless involve the possibility of non-use in Swedish of the possessive-genitive in circumstances in which English employs the possessive adjective: (1) *Egen* is often used in certain types of sentences without a preceding possessive-genitive (it is almost always a question of the reflexive possessive adjective). *För egen del vill jag framhålla, att. . . Skalder, som sjungit om egen glädje. . . Jag kunde inte tro det, förrän jag fick höra det med egna öron.* (2) A personal pronoun is sometimes employed in a prepositional phrase to denote 'my (your, and so forth) room (or apartment, house, home).'<sup>52</sup> *Säg nu god natt och gå in till er (room)! Inkommen till sig (room) framtog hon genast en bok. Jag satt inne hos mig (room). När jag kom in till mig (apartment). . . Då kyrkoherden hade kommit in till sig (house). . .* When the reference is to 'apartment, house, home,' *hem* or *hemma* generally precedes the prepositional phrase. *Hemma hos dem blir det alltid trevligt. Han gick in genom porten hemma hos sig utan att se upp. Menar du, att vi ska gå härifrån—*

<sup>49</sup> Cf. n. 28 and text.

<sup>50</sup> P. 46.

<sup>51</sup> Since *talspråk* and *skönliterär prosa* are not mutually exclusive (see n. 19), Ågren should have referred to the severe and eminent styles instead of to "skönliterär prosa."

<sup>52</sup> *Sitt* is sometimes similarly used. *Därpå gick hon in till sitt (room), lade sig och grät sig till sömns. Han såg henne försvinna som en skugga och vända hem till sitt.* One can also in every case follow the English practice.



*hem till oss? Han gick direkt hem till sig och upp på sitt rum.*

(3) A personal pronoun is similarly employed in place of a possessive adjective plus a noun in sentences such as *Den var så dålig, att han inte en gång brydde sig om att stoppa den på sig*, 'in his pocket.'

The differences which have appeared between English and Swedish are,<sup>53</sup> as we have seen, owing to the interesting fact that English has an unusual method of indicating the connection between the noun of personal relation and the noun representing the possessor. The nouns of personal relation, moreover, have proved to be not merely those naming parts of the body and articles of clothing, but also those denoting other concepts intimately associated with persons. Constructions involving these nouns have furthermore been shown to fall into certain types and to follow certain regular patterns, thus making possible an exposition of the systematic relation between the English expressions consisting of a possessive adjective plus a noun and their Swedish equivalents.

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

*The University of Nebraska*

<sup>53</sup> With the exception of the matters referred to in the foregoing paragraph.

## REVIEW

*The Viking and the Red Man: The Old Norse Origin of the Algonquin Language*, by Reider T. Sherwin. Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1940. Pp. xxvi+340. Price, \$2.50.

As the subtitle of this book indicates, the author has attempted an impossible task. Not long ago the citadel of the Gothic language was stormed by a learned Harvard professor, and the philological structure founded by Jacob Grimm was laid in ruins! But now a new philological citadel has been erected, and that too by an untrained layman, viz., the Algonquin language of the 'noble red man,' fashioned out of the elements which composed the language of the invading Norse vikings! Such a publication represents an effrontery to American scholarship and to ON philology in particular. Publishers should first consult recognized authorities in linguistic science before allowing a book concerned with this subject to go to press. The public should not be fed upon startling 'revelations' which contravene scientific methods and put a premium on linguistic ignorance. American scholarship has during the last generation been forced to combat too many woeful examples of such indiscriminate publication.

No detailed analysis of this "effrontery" shall be attempted here. But as a sacred obligation to linguistic science we are in duty bound to point out briefly some of the cardinal fallacies in the author's argumentation.

In the first place, the author knows absolutely nothing about the laws of linguistic hybridization—no reference is made to M. H. Robert's illuminating article on this subject, "The Problem of the Hybrid Language," *JEGPh* (1939), XXXVIII, pp. 23-41—and consequently he offers no explanation as to how it could be possible for a small group of Norsemen to superimpose their language upon an Amerindian race with which they came in contact for only a brief period of time, and to whom they probably never spoke a word of the ON language. These conditions render Mr. Sherwin's thesis preposterous. Furthermore, he confuses the question of hybridization with that of origin. Perhaps the knife should cut the other way, and the title should

read: *The Red Man and the Viking: The Algonquin Origin of The Old Norse Language.*

The author's evidence in favor of the ON origin of the Algonquin language is based solely upon superficial resemblance, and that too without the support of any established law, either phonetic, or semasiological, or syntactical. Mr. Sherwin creates his own laws governing the relationship of the two languages and herein he reveals a startling ignorance of ON phonology. Just one example—in his *Key to Pronunciation* (XXVI) he tells us: "Adolf Noreen, in his *Old Norse Grammar*, gives the following very important points regarding pronunciation of the Norse (sic) languages:

*R* is generally silent after a consonant, hence *AKR* (land) is pronounced *AK*."

What Noreen (*Aisl. Grm.*,<sup>4</sup> §34, Anm. 2) actually says, is: "Auslautend nach einem konsonanten (wenigstens nach stimmlosem) ist wol *r* in den meisten gegenden stimmlos gewesen . . . z.b. *akr* . . ." "Stimmlos"="voiceless," not "silent."

The author admits the fact that the Algonquin language is agglutinative in structure and that the Old Norse is not. He "closes his eyes to the spelling" and detects a resemblance in pronunciation and meaning between an Algonquin word (=phrase) and a combination of ON words. He assembles these ON words to conform with the sense of the Algonquin word and thereby proves the Algonquin word to be of ON origin. The ON words are based chiefly upon their equivalents in "dialectal Norwegian," although the author does not state which Norwegian dialect he is utilizing. How Algonquin could have undergone "dialectal Norwegian" phonetic changes, or how this "dialectal Norwegian" could have been superimposed upon the Algonquin language centuries before Modern Norwegian had come into existence, is incomprehensible. Shades of Olov Rudbeck! "Det onda är odödligt, liksom det goda."

I quote here at random a few examples of Mr. Sherwin's etymological science:

(1) P.1—"aazasit, a glass=ON *ausa-sit*, one's ladle, one's scoop."

Note *ausa* fem., but *sit* (for *sitt*) neut. ON *au*=Alg. *aa*;

ON *s* = Alg. *z*; by what phonetic laws? How does a 'ladle, scoop' become 'a glass'?

(2) P. 3—"apikusis, a mouse = ON *aa-buuk skyyt*, "moves quickly on the belly."

Note ON *skyyt* (for *skýtr*) = Alg. *sis*, how? ON *aa-buuk* (for *á búk*) = Alg. *apiku*, how? ON *skýtr* in the sense of 'moves quickly' is restricted to the impersonal use with the dative-instrumental. Where are the author's Algonquin parallels for 'quick-belly-moving-animals'?

(3) Pp. 3-4—"achak, a spirit, a soul, ghost = ON *aa-skugg* (or *aa-skjygg*), 'a-shadowing'."

Note ON *aa* (for *á*) = Alg. *a*; ON *skugg* (for *skuggi*) or *skjygg* (with later palatalization) = Alg. *chak*, how? The author states (p. 2): "*aa*-adverbial prefix used much like English "*a*" in "a-working." This statement is incorrect.

(4) P. 9—"Algommequins [French form of the Indian tribal name] = ON *al-gumna kind*, all sons of leaders."

Mr. Sherwin has here metamorphosed an ON viking (*gumi*, poetic word for 'chieftain, warrior') into an Indian chief.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

University of Kansas

THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

*The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, on Friday and Saturday, May 3 and 4, 1940.*

*First Session, Friday, May 3, 2 P.M.*

In the absence of the President of the Society, Dean Arthur E. Wald of Augustana College of Rock Island, the meeting was called to order by the Vice-President, Professor Richard Beck of the University of North Dakota.

In his address of welcome to the Society, President L. W. Boe of St. Olaf College called attention to the contribution of the small countries to the scholarship of the world. One of these, Norway, furnished the background for St. Olaf College.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. Intonation Patterns in American Norwegian (20 minutes). By Professor Einar Haugen, University of Wisconsin. This paper was discussed by Professors Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom and Joseph Alexis, Miss Esther Gulbrandson, Mr. Edward A. Storvick, and Mr. Bjarne E. Landa.

2. An American Appreciation of Esaias Tegnér (20 minutes). By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussed by Professors Richard Beck, Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom, and Joseph Alexis.

3. Some Introductory Notes to an Investigation on Decadence Elements in the Late Nineteenth Century Scandinavian Literatures (20 minutes). By Professor Alrik Gustafson, University of Minnesota. The paper was discussed by Professors Einar Haugen and Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom.

4. Characteristics of the Norwegian *Huldre* (15 minutes). By Miss Ella Rølvaag, University of Wisconsin. Discussion by Professors Richard Beck, Esther Gulbrandson, and Alrik Gustafson, Dr. E. W. Olson, Professor Einar Haugen, Dean J. Jørgen Thompson, and Professor A. M. Sturtevant.

5. Sillanpää—Finland's Winner of the Nobel Prize (20 minutes). By Professor Richard Beck, University of North

Dakota. The paper was discussed by Professor Karen Larsen.

The following committees were appointed:

Nominating Committee, Professor E. Gustav Johnson, Dean J. Jörgen Thompson, and Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom.

Auditing Committee, Professor Alrik Gustafson and Mr. Elmer Larson.

Committee on Resolutions, Professor Einar Haugen.

There were thirty-two present at this session.

At six o'clock the annual dinner was held in one of the dining rooms of the college. Professor Einar Haugen served as toastmaster. Dean J. Jörgen Thompson spoke on the subject: Closer Cultural Relations between Scandinavian Countries. Professor A. M. Sturtevant was in a reminiscent mood and related his early contacts with the Swedish people of Hartford, Connecticut. Professor Nils Flaaten called attention to the importance of advancing knowledge of Scandinavian literature through the medium of English. Professor Richard Beck brought greetings to the Society from the Icelandic National League of America. Professor Erik Hetle expressed his high regard for O. E. Rølvaag as a personal friend as well as his appreciation of his literary contribution. Professor Joseph Alexis emphasized the need of continued co-operation among all Scandinavians to maintain their civilization. Professor M. B. Ruud carried his audience with him back to the first meeting of the Society, held at the University of Chicago in 1911. Besides Dr. Ruud, three other members in attendance at this meeting were present at the organization: Professor A. L. Elmquist, Dr. E. W. Olson, and Professor A. M. Sturtevant. The toastmaster finally called upon President L. W. Boe, who expressed his best wishes for the future of the Society. Interspersed with the talks, the following Scandinavian songs were sung in unison: *Du gamla, du fria, du fjällhöga Nord*; *Sang til Island*; *Gud signe Norigs land*; *Det er et yndigt Land*; *Vårt land*; *Aa eg veit meg eit land*. There were seventy present at the dinner.

*Second Session, Saturday, May 4, 9 A.M.*

The reading and discussion of papers was resumed.

6. Strindberg and the Problems of Naturalism (15 minutes). By Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom, University of Michigan. The paper was discussed by Professor Alrik Gustafson.

7. An Attempt to Teach Conversational Swedish (10 minutes). By Mr. Martin Söderbäck, North Park College. Discussion by M. B. Ruud, Karen Larsen, Oscar E. Olson, Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom, E. Gustav Johnson, A. L. Elmquist, Alrik Gustafson, Einar Haugen, E. W. Olson, J. Jörgen Thompson, Esther Gulbrandson, and Alice Johnson.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and accepted with the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

The report of the Editor of Publications was accepted.

The report of the Associate Editor was accepted.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: "The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study wishes to express its gratitude to St. Olaf College for the invitation to hold the meeting on its campus, to President Boe for his welcome, and to Dean Thompson and his committee for the arrangements made." The resolution was adopted.

A proposition was made that *Scandinavian Studies* be published in co-operation with the University of Minnesota. After some discussion motions were made and passed that the proposal be referred to the executive committee for consideration, with power to act.

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows: for President, Professor Richard Beck of the University of North Dakota; for Vice-President, Professor M. B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota; for Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska; for Editor of Publications, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas; for Associate Editor, Professor A. L. Elmquist of the University of Nebraska; as members of the Advisory Committee for three years, Miss Pauline Farseth of the Minneapolis High Schools and Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom of the University of Michigan. These were elected.

There were thirty-five present at this session.

Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER MAY 3, 1940

*Receipts*

On hand May 3, 1939.....	\$134.62	
Membership dues.....	685.33	
Gifts to Endowment Fund.....	4.00	
Advertising in <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	20.00	
Sale of <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	5.25	
Interest on Endowment Fund.....	210.00	\$1059.20

*Disbursements*

Banta Publishing Company, for printing of *Scandinavian Studies*

May number, 1939.....	\$189.59	
August number, 1939.....	151.20	
November number, 1939.....	133.61	
February number, 1940.....	179.41	
Exchange on checks.....	6.44	
Stamps and stamped envelopes.....	40.60	
Editor's expenses.....	10.00	
Associate Editor, postage.....	5.00	
Programs for annual meeting.....	7.40	
Letterheads.....	7.70	
Clerical help.....	55.00	785.95
On hand May 3, 1940.....		273.25

The assets of the Society also include \$4700 in first mortgages, making the total \$4973.25.



## WERGELAND AND EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

It is an interesting fact that Henrik Wergeland was greatly disturbed during his last days by the increasing emigration of his countrymen to America. In spite of all glorification of the land of the Vikings with its heroic past and its equally promising future (as Wergeland envisioned it) he found that Norwegians were swarming out of the country.

For us Americans it is readily intelligible and seems nothing in the least regrettable that Europeans should seek to better themselves by amalgamating with a young and vigorous people across the ocean, and the course of development has proved that the Scandinavian immigrants not only have fared well but have proved to be a blessing to the land of their adoption. We can see how attractive it must have been for a young Norwegian, whose father and grandfather and grandfather's grandfather had been wheeling off stones from the diminutive farm since Harold Haarfager's days without perceptibly diminishing the supply, when he learned that across the ocean the rich black soil did not contain a stone, and wheat, real wheat, would produce abundantly without manuring, yes, almost without tilling. In America, too, they did not have the long Scandinavian winter, even a common laborer could earn the equivalent of four or five kroner with a day's work, and one might eat white bread and fresh meat three times a day.

For Wergeland, however, this was all propaganda, idle tales told by interested speculators, to swindle the honest peasants. Those who profited by the emigration, he thought, were the navigation companies, the heartless Yankees who exploited immigrant labor, and men of the type of his arch enemy, Prokurator Praëm, who speculated in the land of the emigrants. Emigration to America was a crying evil that was depopulating the fatherland, and it was his plain duty to do something about it.

The most obvious means of combating the propaganda, he felt, lay in an appeal to patriotism and an exposé of the real conditions, and this he attempted in a drama, *Fjeldstuen*, in which he was prodigal of his best dramatic efforts and of his wealth of affection for his native land. A warm appeal to the heart of the reader is made by this play, incidentally, for into it

flowed the last lifeblood of a devoted patriot; Wergeland lay slowly dying of tuberculosis and dictated it at intervals from his deathbed; indeed, he did not live to revise his work or even fully to complete it, and his father, who had worked with him, was obliged to give it the finishing touches. As we have it, *Fjeldstuen* represents the attitude of Norway's most advanced contemporary thinker toward the problem of emigration to America in the middle of the last century, and it makes very interesting reading in the light of our present knowledge.

In the play we are introduced immediately to one of the villains, Svennoug, the agent of the navigation company, Dickson & Co. in Albany. He has come early to an appointed meeting-place with the prospective emigrants, and he tells us in a soliloquy that the rich Repp Lundastad has arranged all the details for him. He then lies down to take a nap before the arrival of his customers.

The sorrowful Huldra, the symbolical figure of the native country, now makes her entry. She is tall and slender, clad in green, and has a silver belt and a halo. In the faint bluish light of early dawn she sings Wergeland's lyric comparing present conditions with those prevailing when the Black Death ravaged Norway. Now as then, farms are deserted and whole valleys are desolate, but the people are not dead; they have emigrated, they have gone over the ocean, and where the last wave dies on its western rim they have disembarked, they are lost forever to their native land.

The Huldra addresses the sleeping Svennoug with a truly Hibernian mixture of figures as a "snake sent from overseas to drain the people's blood" and as a "malefactor who disseminates the Black Death." To prevent his interruption of the following scene she lays a poisonous weed over his face.

After he has thus given the atmosphere of the play, Wergeland introduces the human appeal in a tryst between Sigrid, the daughter of the rich Repp, and Helge, the son of Thor, a small farmer who occupies land adjacent to Repp's great holding, Lundastad. It comes out immediately that these lovers are prevented from marrying; Repp considers Helge too unpromising and has affianced his daughter to Jep Jepstrup, a heartless collection agent. The pair are considering elopement and flight

to America when they are frightened off the stage by the approach of Repp and Jep Jepsstrup themselves.

After some further details in the development of the heart appeal of the subplot comes the propaganda talk of Svennoug, which shows Wergeland's conception of the inducements held out to emigrants:

*Svennoug (comes out and jumps nimbly up on the rock. He is dressed in a natty suit of blue with polished buttons and a blue hat. He is received with cries of astonishment).* This is the way a common man goes dressed in America. And to this suit of clothes belongs a pocketbook with such little trinkets and playthings as these (*pulls out a purse and shows them gold and silver coins*). See? That's pure gold! This they call a sovereign and it's like a specie dollar with us. These big silver coins are called dollars, but they are only like kroner with us Americans, although they are just as good as Norwegian specie dollars, yes, many times better, when you consider all that you can get for them over there. And any man whatsoever can get such a dollar for a day's work. And the standard of living? Why, over there are wheat, bread, and bacon!—Yes, wheat bread made out of kernels three times as big as peas. Land you can get free, or almost so, and the soil is so deep that you can't get to the bottom of it. It's different from digging in the stones here at home. (*Applause*) No taxes and no laws to speak of, no loan sharks! (*Applause*) But you'll understand it all better from this book, free for anyone who catches it! (*Throws his circulars out, the crowd grabs for them.*)

This propaganda arouses great enthusiasm among the hearers and they go off the stage singing:

Afsted over Hav!  
 Det er Sorgernes Grav.  
 I fjerneste Vesten  
 begrave vi Resten;  
 i Skogenes Skjød  
 hvert Minde om Nød.  
 Nyt Liv vi begynde.  
 Thi lad os skynde  
 os lugt herfra!  
 Her maget er Brødet,  
 men snehvidt og sødet  
 det falder i Mund i Amerika.  
 Dybt Jorden er Muldet,  
 og Sølv et og Guld et  
 i Simpelmands Pung som i Rigmandens leer.  
 Ja heller i Døden  
 end hjemme hos Nøden!  
 Men, Held os, nyt Liv i Amerika er!  
 Afsted! Afsted!

The subplot continues with the successful efforts of Svennoug, Repp, and Jepstrup to persuade old Thor to sell out and emigrate to America, taking Helge on board with him. This they accomplish largely through the appeal of a hip flask of American brandy, for which Thor has a very appreciative palate.

The next act opens with Thor's family on the eve of departure for America. His wife, Kari, sings a touching farewell to the home, the spinning-wheel, and Buttercup, her favorite cow. Thor is brought to see the knavery of Repp and Jepstrup and repents his hasty action in selling out and promising to take Helge on board with him, but there is nothing left but to go on with this undertaking, for he has given his word. Kari promises her aid in finding a way out.

They are succeeded on the stage by the villains, who are delighted with the success of their trick and prophesy that old Thor will become a beggar in America because he is too honest to get along there. Jepstrup is promised the new farm that Repp has now acquired and immediate marriage with Sigrid. However, Sigrid, who follows after her father leaves the stage, proves to be constant to her Helge and vows always to be faithful to him.

The third act opens with the cabin in the mountains, which gives the name to the play. It is spring of the following year and Helge, who explains that he simply jumped overboard and swam to shore before the emigrant ship was out of the fjord, has established himself on a little farm of his own that he has cleared and equipped. His friend, the chaplain, brings Sigrid to him. They are interrupted by the arrival of Repp, Jepstrup, and Svennoug, who, we learn, are now fugitives from justice. Repp tries to shoot Helge but is prevented from doing so, and (quite unconvincingly) in the course of half a dozen lines is brought to repentance and reconciliation. Repp and Jepstrup even enter the cabin to be witnesses of the marriage, while Svennoug remains outside, to warn of the approach of the pursuing posse. In a soliloquy this latter worthy reflects that Dickson & Co. of Albany have done him wrong by sending back old Thor Solaas from America. But, on the other hand, he now will have a chance to ship over Repp and Jepstrup. Repp, he thinks, his company can use as a slave-

driver on their plantation in the South; while Jepstrup will take care of himself, he will be hanged within a year.

After Repp, Jepstrup, and Svennoug have safely escaped the pursuing sheriff (lensmand), the posse occupies the stage, but they go no farther, they stay to celebrate the wedding. Kari and Thor are with them. A Norwegian dance is staged and the spirit of the occasion is expressed by a solo:

Saa mangen Daare over Havet hen  
drog ud til Nordamerika,  
men kom og snart som en Fant igjen,  
med ei en Skilling i Fikka.

Og Gud velsigne mig Norges Land  
med Fjeldes snetækte Rygge.  
Der var jeg alt fra Barn van  
at finde hjertelig Hygge.

Rejs du i Øst eller rejs i Vest,  
her hjemme er det dog allerbedst.  
Hvor jeg er født  
der til min Død,  
der vil jeg stadig bo og bygge!

The Huldra ends the play by giving her blessing to Helge and Sigrid and exhorting them never to leave their land. She is comforted about the future too, for now that people know the truth about America there will be no more emigration:

Saamangen Kjærring, saamangen Mand  
slap odelsarvede Borge,  
og droge i Ørslen til fremmede Land;  
og da maate Huldren sørge.  
Hun grad og sukte: Gud hjælpe dem!  
Men nu er Sanningen kommen frem.  
Nu vende de hjem!  
Held være med Norge!

In spite of Wergeland's solicitude about the depopulation of Norway a glance at United States immigration figures determines that there was no contemporary justification of his statement that his countrymen were abandoning the fatherland, that villages were deserted, and hearths smoked no more.

Official figures are available for Sweden and Norway together

from 1820 to 1868, and for Sweden and Norway separately from 1869 on. In 1820 altogether *three* persons came to America from the Peninsula and the average up to 1830 was *nine* a year. In the next decade the numbers were very uneven; there were 324 in 1839, 313 in 1832, but only 3 in 1830 and 31 in 1835. The average was 114.

In 1840 the immigration figures acknowledge 55 persons from the Scandinavian peninsula. In the following year there were 195, and in 1842 the number rose to 553. In 1843 the figures for the first time in history rose to more than a thousand; for 1748 Swedes and Norwegians in that year sought new homes in the United States. The number fell off again in 1844, but still remained at over one thousand (1311), while in the year of Wergeland's death (1845) it sank to 928.

It may have seemed alarming to Wergeland that in four years, from 1840 to 1843, the number of emigrants rose from 55 to 1748, but his concern was quite groundless; for the highest figure amounts only to about one person in two thousand inhabitants leaving the country, a loss that would seem inconsiderable. The Huldre's comparison with the ravages of the Black Death in the Middle Ages is ridiculously overdrawn; a comparison with the mortality resulting from mumps or chickenpox would have been much nearer the truth.

Neither can we ascribe to Wergeland any gift of second sight in this matter; for the number of immigrants continued to fluctuate greatly with no alarming increase until the close of the American Civil War. For twenty years after Wergeland's play there was nothing like the mass emigration that his Huldre complained about. The gold rush of 1849 lured only 3473 Scandinavians away from their homes. Then there is again a lull, which is followed by the record high of 4103 in 1852. However, there were marked lows during these two decades; 903 in 1848, 821 in 1855, and 298, 616, 892 for the first three years of the Civil War. The average of the period was 1820, or about the same small figure that had alarmed the poet in 1843.

Wergeland's low estimate of the opportunities offered in the U.S.A. was not the result of impartial consideration of available data. He certainly allowed his obsession as to the importance of

remaining on the ancestral soil to blind him to the best interests of many of his fellow citizens as individuals. His belief that the *sovereign* was an American coin in 1845 is a slight indication of his indifference to the facts of the New World.

As far as *Fjeldstuen* is concerned, too, Wergeland's efforts to keep his countrymen at home were abortive; for it is an unconvincing play and its circulation as a reading drama affected few persons.

NORMAN L. WILLEY

*University of Michigan*

#### FOUR NOTES ON TEGNÉR'S "MJELTSJUKAN"

There are certain passages in Tegnér's *Mjeltsjukan*, which, so far as I know, have not heretofore been interpreted in their relation to the poem. The points in question may in certain respects seem trivial, but it is only by analyzing such details that we can arrive at a better appreciation of the author's thought and style and of the poem as a whole. In my discussion I have made certain suggestions which may be unwarranted, but which seem to me pertinent and therefore worth consideration.

- (1) *Jag stod på höjden af min lefnads branter,  
der vattendragen dela sig och gå  
med skummig bölja hün åt skilda kanter;  
klart var der uppe, der var skönt att stå . . .*

In the opening verses of the poem Tegnér presents a most vivid picture of the crisis impending in *Mjeltsjukan*. The poet stands at the parting of the ways. As he looks down from the hill-top, he is enthralled by the beauty of God's world—the calm before the storm. Beneath him the waters divide and flow in different directions. Which way will they flow for him?

This beautiful picture, based upon Tegnér's love of Sweden's magnificent water-falls and noble mountains, reveals the painful crisis which he was passing through at this time (1825). But just exactly what was this crisis? His life's success as a poet? Possibly this phase of his life was at stake in "the parting of the waters," but I believe that over and above all other aspects of his life there was involved primarily the question of his sanity. In his letters<sup>1</sup> during this period he emphasized his fear that the mental derangement from which he was suffering would become permanent. The poem *Mjeltsjukan* itself is an expression of his temporary insanity, and hence it seems most plausible to assume that "the parting of the waters" was the poetic expression of this distressing fear as to which course the malady would finally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially his letter to M. Lagerlöf (1825): "Jag har på någon tid lidit af ett ovanligt svårt och mörkt lynne. Gud bevare mitt förstånd! Du vet att det går en åder af galenskap genom min släkt. Hos mig har den väl hittills brutit ut i poesi, som är en lindrigare art af vanvett; men hvem kan försäkra att det alltid tar den vägen?"



take. Besides, Tegnér, in spite of all the criticism leveled against him during this period after the completion of his *Frithiofs saga*, was never very much troubled about his success as a poet; he never rated himself very highly in this respect and always received criticism with scholarly openmindedness and modesty.

- (2) *Då steg en mjeltsjuk svartalf upp, och plötsligt  
bet sig den svarle vid mitt hjerta fast;  
och se, på en gång allt blef tomt och ödsligt,  
och sol och stjernor mörknade i hast . . .*

In the second stanza of the poem Tegnér describes the sudden change from happiness to sorrow, from light to darkness. This abrupt transition is due to the demon of melancholia, the black elf, which has suddenly bitten him to the heart.

The metaphor of the *svartalf*<sup>2</sup> is, of course, based upon Swedish folklore. The *svartalf* is malicious and an enemy to humans; the *ljusalf* kindly and a friend to humanity. The metaphor of the *svartalf* is here peculiarly fitting as a symbol for that dark spirit of melancholia<sup>3</sup> which pervades the poet's heart. In this connection it is significant that in a letter to J. Öhrnberg<sup>4</sup> (1835) Tegnér compares the strain of insanity inherited in his family to a *black vein* ("en svart åder"). I do not know whether it is ever recorded in Swedish folklore that elves inflict poisonous bites upon humans. At any rate, the metaphor involved is in better keeping with venomous reptiles; a poetic license due to the ne-

<sup>2</sup> The *svartalf* was Tegnér's favorite metaphor for an evil demon. The metaphor first occurs in his fragment *Blotsven* (ca. 1808):

*Vid vårt hjerta  
en svartalf sätter sig och grumlar blodet.*

It appears again in *Nore* (1814):

*Det blinda hatet kom, en svartalf lömsk och dyster,  
och Göta drack de blindas blod . . .*

and again in his letter to F. M. Franzén (1825): "I umgänget deremot är jag ofta glad, ibland för mycket; men dessemellan komma svartalferna och göra mig sällskap."

<sup>3</sup> From the Grk. μέλαν-'black' and χολή 'bile'=Tegnér's "en mjeltsjuk svartalf."

<sup>4</sup> "Ett olyckligt drag af mjeltsjuka går också, som en svart åder, genom min släkt . . ."

cessity of keeping the *svartalf* in the picture. Essentially the same metaphor occurs in *Blotsven*, where Tegnér says: "A *svartalf* sits close by our heart and contaminates our blood." In *Mjeltsjukan* this contamination is the poisonous bite of melancholia; a fitting metaphor even if not in keeping with Swedish folklore.

- (3) *Dig menskoslägte, dig bör jag dock prisa,  
Guds afbild<sup>6</sup> du, hur träffande, hur sann!  
Två lögnar har du likväl till att visa,  
en heter qvinna och den andra man.  
Om tro och ära fins en gammal visa,  
hon sjunges bäst, när man bedrar hvarann . . .*

It is significant that in his arraignment of depraved humanity Tegnér approached the question from the viewpoint of sex. It is clear that by thus singling out the two sexes Tegnér sought to vent his spleen especially upon woman, by whom he believed<sup>7</sup> himself to have been deceived and betrayed—a purely personal attitude—for otherwise a division of sex seems hardly necessary, to condemn all humanity as "a lie."

To make his accusation more poignant, Tegnér singles out as lies the salient virtues of the Swedish race, which he himself had so often extolled, *faith* and *honor* ("tro och ära").

This conception that woman and man practise mutual deception represents an ancient tradition and does not in itself warrant particular comment. But the situation here bears such a marked resemblance to Othin's accusation of both sexes in the ON *Hǫvamöl* that one is justified in suspecting that Tegnér fashioned his picture in accord with the situation in the *Hǫvamöl*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. footnote 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Den vise* (1804):

*Der—Guds afbild, kronan i naturen,  
der—en boll för lyckans gyckelspehl*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. especially his letter to Brinkman (1826): "Men är man tvungen att förakta en menniskas *karakter*, helst en som varit eller är mig kär, då erfar man hvad lifvet har bittrast; då är det ej underligt, om en öppen och brinnande själ vänder sig med vämjelse från det falska, det hycklande släktet och instänger sig så godt han kan i eremithyddan af sitt eget hjerta." In his indignation Tegnér here brands woman as "the false, hypocritical sex."

In stanza 84<sup>8</sup> of the *Hávamöl* Othin first warns against faith in woman ("for her heart has been fashioned on a whirling wheel and deceit laid into her breast") and then (stanza 91)<sup>9</sup> accuses man of the same infidelity; compare Tegnér's *two lies* ("en heter kvinna och den andra man"). Reminiscences from the *Hávamöl* are of frequent occurrence in Tegnér's poetry,<sup>10</sup> and it seems to me perfectly possible that the example of Othin in the *Hávamöl* suggested itself to Tegnér in his arraignment of the two sexes.<sup>11</sup>

(4) *Min puls slår fort som i min ungdoms tider,  
men plågans stunder hinner han ej slå.  
Hur lång, hur ändlös är kvart pulsslags smärta!  
O, mitt förtärda, mitt förblödda hjerta!*

*Mitt hjerta? I mitt bröst fins intet hjerta,  
en urna blott med lifvets aska i . . .*

In these lines of the concluding stanzas of *Mjeltsjukan* Tegnér prays for a merciful release from his suffering. He feels the throb of pain in every beat of his heart, which has become insensible to the joy of life. In his old age, when he realizes that

<sup>8</sup> Quotations are from Gering's fourth edition of the *Elder Edda*.

*Meyar orþum skyli mangi trua,  
né þvís kveþr kona;  
þvít á hverfanda hvélö vǫru þeim hjortu skopuþ  
ok brighþ i brjóst of lagip.*

<sup>9</sup> *Bert nú mælik, þvít ek bæði veit,  
brighþ es karla hugr konum . . .*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. especially the canto *Kung Bele och Thorsten* Vikingsson of his *Frithiofs saga*.

<sup>11</sup> So far as woman is concerned, this passage in *Mjeltsjukan* reveals a remarkably close parallel to Frithiof's attitude in *Frithiofs återkomst*, as I have pointed out in my article "Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, III (1916), p. 131. I might add here another parallel between this passage in *Frithiofs återkomst* and *Mjeltsjukan*, viz., regarding the brand of Cain upon the human brow.

*Mjeltsjukan*  
*Du himlabarn! hos dig det enda sanna  
är kainsmärket, inbrändt på din panna.*  
*Frithiofs återkomst*  
*En dikt jag minnes om Balders Nanna,  
men sanning fins ej på mensklig panna . . .*

this release is at hand, he presents a similar picture in *Rese-fantasier*,<sup>12</sup> No. 3 (1840). He says:

[jag] lular nu mot graf, snart sextiårig,  
är en runsten på mitt eget stoft.<sup>13</sup>  
Sången ljuder än, men doft,  
ur det fordom friska hjertat.<sup>14</sup>  
Hvad har jag ej lidit och försmärtat!

This passage in *Rese-fantasier* sounds like a faded counterpart of the passage quoted from *Mjeltsjukan* and reveals Tegnér's tendency to brood over his malady,<sup>15</sup> which reaches its highest point in *Mjeltsjukan*. But in *Mjeltsjukan* Tegnér's attitude is not tinged with the resignation of old age; his faculties are still acute and he senses all the more keenly the spirit of madness from which he seeks release. The passage in *Rese-fantasier* reflects, as it were, the closing chapter of this distressing phase of Tegnér's life.

In these notes on *Mjeltsjukan* I have attempted to give a new approach to various details. My comments are offered as mere suggestions toward a more comprehensive exegesis of one of Tegnér's masterpieces. If in *Mjeltsjukan* Tegnér had temporarily lost his mental balance, he nevertheless still retained his magnificent poetic genius and that too in its most characteristic phases—color, contrast, and power.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

*University of Kansas*

<sup>12</sup> *Rese-fantasier* was composed on a trip to Schleswig, where Tegnér was to undergo a cure for the malady which afflicted him.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Mjeltsjukan*:

*en urna blott med lifvets aska i.*

Both metaphors express the attitude of the living dead.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Mjeltsjukan*:

*O, mitt förtärda, mitt förblödda hjertat!*

<sup>15</sup> For a more detailed analysis of this pathological tendency compare my article "A Study of Tegnér's Personality and Views as Revealed in his *Skottal*," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XV (1939), pp. 190-193.

### SUNDRMÆÐRI—SAMMÆÐRA

It is now generally agreed that the terms *bræðra sammæðra* (*Hamðismál* 24.5) and *inn sundrmæðri* (*Hamðismál* 13.1) clearly point the contrast between Hamðir and Sqrli, the sons of Guðrún, and their half-brother Erpr, who is not of Gjúkung blood.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have escaped notice, however, that the two terms, together with a third, *bróðir okkarr* (*Hamðismál* 28.3), constitute a deliberate sequence, each member of which occurs at a vital point in the action, and serves to strike the dominant emotional note of the episode in which it is used. Indeed, the poet has chosen his terms with a keen sense of dramatic effect. Each of them is accurate and moving in itself; but each reveals its full significance only when all three are seen as mutually interdependent elements in a conscious pattern.

Obviously, the *Hamðismál* is the tragedy, not of Jǫrmunrekkr, nor of Guðrún, but of Hamðir and Sqrli. The two brothers have set out, at their mother's insistence, and over their own protest, to avenge upon Jǫrmunrekkr the slaying of their sister Svanhildr. In their dialogue with Guðrún they freely express their premonitions of disaster. In a mood dark with foreboding they ride forth; and on the way they meet Erpr, whom the poet immediately characterizes as *inn sundrmæðri*. The epithet at once explains and emphasizes the tension in the relations between the two sons of Guðrún and the third brother, son of a nameless mother. It focuses attention upon the jealousy, the complete

<sup>1</sup> Various attempts have been made to interpret the contrast otherwise, but unsuccessfully. Thus Simrock's hypothesis (*Die Edda*, 3 Aufl. [Stuttgart, 1864], pp. 500 f.) that Erpr is son of Guðrún, Hamðir and Sqrli sons of Jónakr by his first wife, ignores one indisputable fact: all Norse texts, early and late, represent Hamðir and Sqrli as sons of Guðrún. Ussing tries to argue the contrast out of existence, *Om det Indbyrdes Forhold mellem Heltekvadene i Ældre Edda* (København, 1910), pp. 167 f. He holds that *sammæðra* means not "who have the same mother as one another" but "who have the same mother as Svanhildr"; *sundrmæðri* he takes to be the result of misunderstanding of *sammæðra* on the part of the poor clumsy reviser who interpolated strs. 12-17 into the "original" *Hamðismál*. One can only agree with Finnur Jónsson, *Aarbøger* 1921, 90, n. 1: "Ussings opfattelse s. 167 er for kunstig til at være rigtig"; and point out in addition that there is no reason whatsoever to believe that strs. 12-17 were interpolated into the poem.

lack of understanding, on the part of Hamðir and Sörli toward Erpr. The tension is still more sharply revealed, in the following strophe, when Erpr is called *hornungr*: he is not only of blood alien to that of the Gjúkungs; he is also a bastard. Thus *inn sundrmæðri* both defines the physical relationship between him and his half-brothers and adumbrates the hostility and scorn which they feel for him. The poet uses the epithet, then, to prepare his hearers for the contemptuous question addressed to Erpr: "What help can you give us?"; for their inability to comprehend the riddle in which his reply is phrased; and for the outburst of anger in which they draw sword and kill him.

The poet has motivated their action deftly: embarked upon a venture not of their own seeking, convinced from the first that the odds are against their survival, Hamðir and Sörli are in no mood to tolerate the sallies of their base-born half-brother, whose relationship to themselves they resent. His riddle puzzles and angers them; desperation, contempt, and wrath combine to raise their fury against him. Through the term *inn sundrmæðri* the poet underlines the unwillingness of Hamðir and Sörli to realize that a bastard can help them in their vengeance, or that the obligations of kinship apply to one ignobly born and not of Gjúkung blood.

\* \* \* \*

Upon their arrival at Jǫrmunrekkr's hall, Hamðir and Sörli cut down many Goths, and succeed in lopping off the hands and feet of Jǫrmunrekkr. Resentment against Erpr still rankles in the brothers' minds; but the ominous forebodings with which they had set out now seem unwarranted. Complete success is within their grasp. Exulting in their triumph, proud that he and Sörli have proved their power to carry out their revenge unaided, Hamðir gloats over the fallen king:

"Behold, Jǫrmunrekkr, your hands and feet, cast into the hot fire! We two alone, *sons of one mother*, have done this!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Str. 24.3-10, according to Neckel, *Edda*, I (Heidelberg, 1914), 267:

"Æstir, Jǫrmunrekkr!	okkarrar kvámo,
brœðra sammœðra,	innan borgar þinnar:
fœtr sér þú þína,	. . . . .
. . . . .	hondom sér þú þínom,
Jǫrmunrekkr, orpit	f eld heitan!"

The words *bræðra sammæðra* in Hamðir's taunt recall the scorn and spite which he and Sqrli had shown from Erpr, and under the urgency of which they had slain him, in the earlier scene: the term constitutes a conscious contrast and complement to the epithet *inn sundrmæðri* in that scene. Gjúkungs, unaided, have avenged their sister: Hamðir's boast is aimed quite as sharply at the dead half-brother as at Jormunrekkr. Indeed, its terms suggest that their triumph over the Gothic king is less important to Hamðir and Sqrli than their pride that it was achieved without the help of the despised Erpr.

\* \* \* \*

Then, in the midst of their vainglorious exultation, comes the moment of tragic reversal. No sooner has Hamðir uttered his vaunt than the Goths receive instructions to stone the brothers (str. 25). Sqrli, realizing that the results of these instructions will be ruinous to himself and Hamðir, and that they must die without dealing Jormunrekkr a last and fatal blow, throws the blame for their failure upon Hamðir.<sup>3</sup> Hamðir, more wisely, recognizes that the fault lies equally with himself and Sqrli: that in killing Erpr they had thrown away their victory in advance, since only Erpr could have cut off Jormunrekkr's head. The meaning of Erpr's riddle, and his own vital importance to their cause, are now fully apparent—too late. In that moment of swift descent from almost complete triumph to imminent defeat and death, Hamðir responds in words which reveal his complete, if belated, recognition of the blood-bond which should have bound himself and Sqrli to Erpr in friendship and mutual help:

"The head would be off now, if Erpr yet lived, *our brother* daring in battle, whom we two slew on the road."<sup>4</sup>

This speech contains more than an admission of Erpr's

<sup>3</sup> Str. 26.3-6—str. 27.1-4:

"Böl vanntu, bróðir! er þú þann belg leystir—  
opt ór þeim belg böll ráð koma!  
Hug hefðir þú, Hamðir, ef þú hefðir hyggiandi—  
mikils er á mann hvern vant, er manvits er!"

The manuscript attributes these words to Hamðir, but most editors and commentators prefer to take Sqrli as the speaker.

<sup>4</sup> Str. 28.1-4: "Af væri nú haufuð, ef Erpr lifði,  
bróðir okkarr inn bǫðfrækní, er vit á braut vógom."

prowess, and the tardy perception that his aid was necessary to success. In it Hamðir expresses the realization that he and Sqrli had brought their fate upon themselves by killing Erpr; that in violating the bond of kinship they had made their own ruin inevitable. In the use of the phrase *bróðir okkarr* Hamðir repudiates the hate and scorn which had motivated the slaying; he abandons his whole earlier position. He recognizes wholeheartedly Erpr's brotherhood to Sqrli and himself, and thereby effects dramatic reconciliation.

\* \* \* \*

In the selection and use of these three terms, *inn sundrmæðri bræðra sammæðra, bróðir okkarr*, the poet has displayed extraordinary dramatic skill. Each, in its particular situation, focuses the emotion and fixes the significance of a scene; each is essential to full understanding of the others. The first emphasizes the hostility of the legitimate sons toward the illegitimate, and explains their violation of the obligations of kinship. The second crystallizes, at the peak of action and in the moment of greatest dramatic intensity, the expression of the brothers' exultation in their double triumph: their vengeance upon Jormunrekkr, and their apparent vindication of their slaying of Erpr. The third, at the moment of their downfall, signalizes the emotional reversal by which, at last, they recognize not only that it is Erpr who is vindicated over them, but also that the blood-tie between him and themselves is real and binding.<sup>6</sup> Through this recognition, and most specifically through the words *bróðir okkarr*, the poet achieves, in the final moment, a genuine catharsis.

He has attained his effects with striking economy, through three pregnant phrases, admirably selected: each finely appropriate in its place and applied at precisely the logical moment. But the deeper significance of each epithet appears only when it is realized that all three constitute a progressive sequence,

<sup>6</sup> Snorri and the compiler of the *Völsungasaga* did not see the dramatic effect of Hamðir's speech and hence put it out of its proper order: i.e., as soon as Hamðir and Sqrli have cut off the king's hands and feet and before the Gothic attack upon the brothers; cp. *Skáldskaparmál* 51 (42), *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, udg. ved Finnur Jónsson, København, 1931; *Völsungasaga* 44 (42), udg. ved Magnus Olsen, København, 1906-08.



motivating a tragic drama, marking the climax of action and emotion, and, at the last, resolving the tragic node. These three terms disclose the design of the poem—a design compact and unified, clearly conceived and vividly executed. It is the design of a great artist, wisely conscious of his power.

ARTHUR GILCHRIST BRODEUR  
CAROLINE BRADY

*University of California*

PUBLICATIONS IN OLD ICELANDIC  
LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE, 1938

*Editions*

Since no bibliographies have appeared except the annual ones in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* and *Acta philologica Scandinavica*, this survey may be started by a review of the editions of 1938.

Ejnar Munksgaard heads the list with his facsimile edition of *Early Icelandic Rímur, MS No. 604, 4to of the Arna-Magnæan Collection* . . . with an introduction by Sir William A. Craigie (Copenhagen, 1938 = Corpus Cod. Islandicorum Medii Ævi XI). Of the same high quality as the earlier volumes, this one is of special interest because it contains several unpublished *rímur*. Another facsimile edition is Halldór Hermannsson's *The Icelandic Physiologus* . . . (Ithaca, 1938 = Islandica XXVII), valuable for the author's discussion of its illumination, hitherto partly unexplained.

The Icelandic Ancient Text Society has issued volume III (actually its fifth) of *Íslenzk fornrit: Borgfirðinga sögur: Hænsa-þóris saga, Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, Bjarnar saga Híttdæla-kappa, Heiðarvíg saga, Gísls þáttir Illugasonar* (Reykjavík, 1938). Sigurður Nordal has written the introduction and some of the notes, while Guðni Jónsson has supplied the rest of the notes and edited the texts. The collection is highly instructive, since the four sagas represent as many different types. *Heiðarvíg saga* is by common consent one of the oldest and most primitive of the family sagas (ca. 1200). *Bjarnar saga* is somewhat later (1200-25), while *Hænsa-þóris* and *Gunnlaugs saga* are from the second half of the century. The two last-named are fiction rather than history, the first being of a realistic, the second of a romantic, cast, which, by the way, has made it one of the most popular of sagas.

In Copenhagen Jón Helgason has issued for the Arnarnæan Commission a second volume of *Íslenzk miðaldakvæði* (Copenhagen, 1938), containing poems about St. Mary and St. Anne, the Apostles, and other Saints (cf. my previous report, *Publications in Old Icelandic Literature and Language, 1936-37* in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, 1939, XV, 239-252). For the

Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab Helgason has started a new edition of *Byskupa sögur* (Copenhagen, 1938), the first issue containing *Byskupa attir*, *Ísleifs þáttir*, and *Hungrovaka*. This collection of Lives of the Bishops with related matter is obviously designed to replace the old one by Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1858–78). This new edition excels in scrupulous classification of manuscripts and diplomatic treatment of texts.

### *Saga Studies*

Strictly speaking, Paul Lehmann's *Skandinaviens Anteil an der lateinischen Literatur und Wissenschaft des Mittelalters* (2. Stück, München, 1937)<sup>1</sup> is not a saga study. But insofar as it reveals the bearing of the cosmopolitan Medieval Latin literature and learning upon the Old Norse culture and writings, it is valuable for a knowledge of the background of the sagas. In the first part (1. Stück) the author had treated Denmark and Sweden; in this second part Iceland (pp. 1–66) and Norway (pp. 66–83) come under consideration. The review is very condensed and admittedly often from second-hand sources. This may lead to incongruence in the forms of names (Olav Whitescald) and the adoption of conflicting opinions without comment (e.g., regarding different authors of the *First Grammatical Treatise*, pp. 12 and 18). There are serious omissions, such as those of M. Schlauch's *Romance in Iceland* and B. K. Þórólfsson's *Rímur* before 1600. Nevertheless the compilation is useful to Mediaeval Latinists and to such Old Norse scholars as are interested in the cosmopolitan setting of their literature. Much remains to be done in this field.

Scholarly interest in the family sagas has been much stimulated by the editions of the Icelandic Ancient Text Society. *Safn til sögu Íslands* (1938, VI. 6, pp. 97–192) brings a continuation of B. M. Ólsen's *Um Íslendinga-sögur*. Two significant papers, *Sturla Þórðarson og Grettis saga* (Reykjavík, 1938 = *Studia Islandica* 4) by S. Nordal, and "The Icelandic Family Sagas and the Period in which their Authors Lived"<sup>2</sup> by E. Ó.

<sup>1</sup> Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Abt., Jg. 1937, Heft 7.

<sup>2</sup> *APhSc*, 1937–38, XII: 71–90.

Sveinsson, may head the list. Nordal tries to prove that our present version of *Grettis saga*, dating from the first decades of the 14th century, is rewritten after an original by Sturla Þórðarson (\* 1284). This gives him an opportunity to issue a warning to his followers not to exaggerate the importance of the final author and of the supposed saga-unity. Each saga presents a different problem. Sveinsson also warns against over-simplification in stating the aims and purposes of the sagas; he stresses the 13th century background and the aristocratic milieu from which the sagas sprung.

*Árbók hins ísl. Fornleifafélags* (1937-39) contains a number of articles dealing chiefly with the topography and with the place names of the sagas (*Njála*, *Heiðarvíga saga*). Of these studies, some are occasioned by Barði Guðmundsson's "Staðþekking og áttamiðanir Njálssögu" ("Topographical Knowledge and Words of Orientation in *Njáls saga*"),<sup>3</sup> a study in the dialect of *Njála's* author, serving as a basis for identifying him with the Easterner Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson (1230-96), who spent the latter part of his life not far from the scenes of the saga.

In "*Flóamanna saga* and *Landnáma*" P. O. Nijhoff reiterates his opinion that the beginning of *Flóam.* is not derived from *Landn.* (as Finnur Jónsson thought).<sup>3a</sup>

Lee M. Hollander continues his work on Egill Skallagrímsson with "Some Observations on the Head-Ransom Episode in the Egilssaga."<sup>4</sup> Why did Egill go to England and York? Hollander stresses the motivation of the saga itself, viz., Queen Gunnhildr's sorcery. But he doubts the historicity of Egill's slaying of King Eiríkr's son; if, so, the strongest motive for beheading Egill was the saga writer's fiction. Other writings pertinent to *Egils saga* are *The Battle of Brunanburh* (London, 1938) by Alistair Campbell and "The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh," by A. H. Smith,<sup>5</sup> giving the location as Bromborough in Wirral, Cheshire. Campbell (p. 68 ff., and Appendix v, p. 161) does not doubt that the battle of Vinheiðr is identical with that of Brunanburh,

<sup>3</sup> *Andvari*, 1938, LXIII: 68-88.

<sup>3a</sup> *JEGPh*, 1938, XXXVII: 3-6.

<sup>4</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 307-14.

<sup>5</sup> *London Medieval Studies*, 1937, I: 56-59.

but he finds the details of the saga so often demonstrably incorrect that he would not attach any weight to them unless they were corroborated by other sources more trustworthy than the *Pseudo-Ingulph*.

Comments on the proverbs of *Grettis saga* are included in Rolf Pipping's *Ordspråksstudier* I.<sup>6</sup> Helga Reuschel has written a note on "Melkorka (Zu Laxdæla s. c. 12, 13, und Guðrúnarkviða I, 9, 10)," <sup>7</sup> Per Tylden, on "Nú falla vötn öll til Dýrafjarðar," <sup>8</sup> who points out that in Norway it is considered to be a bad omen to turn back on a journey if one has passed the watershed of two valleys. J. P. Graf finds a parallel to *Völsungasaga's* "Sem alft af báru" <sup>9</sup> in a verse in *Hallfreðar saga*: "sem ölt á sundi." In "Sagadichtung und Rassenkunde," <sup>10</sup> Erich Behrend tests his German theories of race-psychology on Egill and Hrafnkell.

By far the weightiest work in the saga field, barring the editions is Alexander Burt Taylor's *The Orkneyinga saga, a New Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Edinburgh and London 1938). The introduction deals fully with textual matters and is, besides, probably the best guide now found in English to the problems of the Kings' sagas. Naturally the author leans quite heavily upon Nordal's edition and his work on the Kings' sagas, but there is much historical and topographical information in the notes. A notable omission in the bibliography is that of E. A. Kock's *Notationes Norrænæ*, treating the many verses of the saga.

Of the Kings' sagas there is little to report, except the first reactions to Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson's *Om de norske kongers sagaer* (Oslo, 1936); cf. my last year's report. Anne Holtmark's "Om de norske kongers sagaer. Oppositionsinnlegg ved Aðalbjarnarsons doktor disputats 23. sept. 1936" <sup>11</sup> criticizes the work for a certain lack of plan (and for the absence of index!) as well as for too hazy conceptions of oral tradition. Gustav Indrebö,

<sup>6</sup> *SNF*, 1938, XXVIII: 3: 1-82.

<sup>7</sup> *ZfdA*, 1938, LXXV: 297-304.

<sup>8</sup> *MoM*, 1938, 182-83.

<sup>9</sup> *ZfdA*, 1938, LXXV: 304.

<sup>10</sup> *Zf Deutschkunde*, 1938, LII: 273-91.

<sup>11</sup> *Edda*, 1938, XXXVIII: 145-64.

himself a scholar in this field, praises Aðalbjarnarson highly in "Nokre merknader til den norrøne kongesoga,"<sup>12</sup> adding a few notes of his own on *Historia Norwegiae*, *Ágrip*, *Morkinskinna*, *Fagrskinna*, *Heimskringla*. One point of his is challenged by D. A. Seip in "*Ágrip—Hryggjarstykki*."<sup>13</sup>

Professor Ker's well known observations on the indebtedness of the family sagas to the heroic poems of the *Edda* have given the impetus to one more dissertation: *Kalf Arnason. Die Berührung zwischen Heldenlied und Königssaga* (Köln, 1938) by Wolfgang Reischauer, extending the scope of the influence to the Kings' sagas.

### *Eddic Poetry*

Activity in the *Edda* field has been decidedly on the upgrade. Most notable is a new Dutch translation: *Edda vertaald en van inleidingen voorzien* door Prof. Dr. Jan De Vries (Amsterdam, 1938). It is the first complete translation in Dutch (a partial one by L. S. Meijboom was published in 1868). It is intended for the cultured reader rather than for the scholar, though De Vries's name is guarantee enough for its accuracy.

In "Germanic Mythological Poetry"<sup>14</sup> H. Schneider has presented to English readers the substance of the important paper listed in my last year's report.

Notes on *Völuspá* have been contributed by Stefan Kukovski (*Vsp.* 5, *Sól varp sunnan . . .*)<sup>15</sup> and Frederic T. Wood (*Vsp.* 24, *knóttu Vanir vígspá* [= 'exposed to warfare'] *völlu sporna*).<sup>16</sup>

Of papers on *Hávamál* the most interesting is Sveinbjörn Johnson's "Old Norse and Ancient Greek Ideals."<sup>17</sup> Following the lead of G. Finnbogason, Johnson finds striking similarities between *Hávamál* and Aristoteles' *Ethics*. R. Meissner writes on "*Lítilla sanda, lítilla seva*,"<sup>18</sup> suggesting 'kiesverständnis' as a

<sup>12</sup> *AfnF*, 1938, LIV: 58-79.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 238-39.

<sup>14</sup> *London Medieval Studies*, 1938, I: 150-64.

<sup>15</sup> *ZfdA*, 1938, LXXV: 119-20.

<sup>16</sup> *SSN*, 1938, XV: 84-86.

<sup>17</sup> *Ethics*, 1938, XLIX: 18-36.

<sup>18</sup> *ZfdA*, 1938, LXXV: 83-86.

translation for the whole passage; Chr. Matras "Et færösk ord-sprog og en strofe i Hávamál"<sup>19</sup> quotes a Modern Faroese proverb, that in Old Norse would have been *endrgerð ok viðrgerð eru lengst vinir*, as a parallel to *Háv.* 41. In "Eit Edda-ord: Tún"<sup>20</sup> Gustav Indrebö shows that *tún* = 'cultivated homefields' is not confined to Iceland and therefore cannot serve as an argument for the Icelandic origin of the poems in question. Among other comments F. T. Wood's "Two Eddic Interpretations" (*aringreypr* and *dafar darraðar*),<sup>21</sup> and K. G. Ljunggren's "Anteckningar till Skírnismál och Rígsþula [continued]"<sup>22</sup> (especially *Rígsþ.* 2: *aldinfalda*, and 15: *skokkr*) should be noted. E. A. Kock's *Notationes Norrænæ*, parts 24 and 25 (cf. below), also contain scattered comments on Eddic poems.

Of studies on the relationship between Norse and German heroic poetry and legends W. Mohr's "Entstehungsgeschichte und Heimat der jungen Eddalieder südgermanischen Stoffes"<sup>23</sup> is undoubtedly the most important. By tracing literary types, motives, and words Mohr comes to the conclusion that the late heroic poems are not of late Icelandic origin (thus Heusler) but that they are ultimately derived from Germany by way of Denmark. In spite of the fact that he must reckon with two unknown factors (viz., German *novellistische Lieder* and Danish elegiac poetry of the 12th century, prototypes of the Eddic poems, and traceable in the later Danish ballads: *folkeviser*), Mohr's theory is stimulating and not without plausibility. Other studies in the same comparative field are Mary Thorp's "The Archetype of the Nibelungen Legend,"<sup>24</sup> K. C. King's "Siegfried's Fight with the Dragon in the *Edda* and the *Hürnen Seyfrid*,"<sup>25</sup> and W. E. D. Stephen's "*Þiðriks saga* and *Eckenlied*."<sup>26</sup> Here should also be mentioned Caroline Brady's "Becca

<sup>19</sup> *MoM*, 1938: 151-52.

<sup>20</sup> *MoM*, 1938: 28-31.

<sup>21</sup> *Germanic Review*, 1938, XIII: 139-42.

<sup>22</sup> *AfnF*, 1938, LIV: 9-44.

<sup>23</sup> *ZfdA*, 1938, LXXV: 217-80.

<sup>24</sup> *JEGPh*, 1938, XXXVII: 7-17.

<sup>25</sup> *London Medieval Studies*, 1937, I: 77-83.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-92.

of the Banings,"<sup>26a</sup> identifying the Bikki of *Atlakviða* 14 with the Becca of *Widsið*.

Monographs on certain metrical and stylistic points are W. H. Vogt's "Binnenreime in der Edda"<sup>27</sup> (important), H. M. Heinrich's *Stilbedeutung des Adjektivs im Eddischen Heldenlied* (Diss. Würzburg, 1838 = Bonner Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, 4), and A. M. Sturtevant's "The Use of Colors in the Elder Edda,"<sup>28</sup> proving it to be far from colorful in the literal sense of the word.

### *Scaldic Poetry*

Apart from E. A. Kock's *Notationes Norrænæ*, of which three issues have appeared since my last report: Nrs. 23, 24, and 25,<sup>29</sup> the output of studies on scaldic poetry has been meager. In *NN* 23 Kock reviews M. Olsen's "Commentarii Scaldici" and verses in *Grettis saga*, ed. G. Jónsson. The last two numbers contain miscellaneous comments, and the usual polemical tone is conspicuous by its absence. Kock has also contributed "Anteckningar till Íslenzk miðaldakvæði,"<sup>30</sup> praising the editor's critical principles.

In his well-known manner Lee M. Hollander has given annotated translations of "Egil Skallagrimsson's Head-Ransom (*Höfuðlausn*)," and "The Lay of Arinbiorn (*Arinbiarnarkviða*)."<sup>31</sup>

F. Ohrt comments on "Sunnr at Urðarbrunni,"<sup>32</sup> denying Bugge's equation Urðr = Jordan, and W. H. Vogt writes "Zu Tryggðamál und Griðamál; ihre Formung in Heiðarvíga saga und Grettla; die Stellung des Redners."<sup>33</sup> The situation, he comments, in both sagas calls only for a truce (*grið*), nevertheless the formula for full reconciliation (*tryggðir*) is mixed with the *griðamál*, and more efficiently so in *Grettis saga*. Both formulas

<sup>26a</sup> *JEGPh*, 1938, XXXVII: 169-88.

<sup>27</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 228-62.

<sup>28</sup> *Germanic Review*, 1938, XIII: 289-99.

<sup>29</sup> *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. 33, Nr. 2, Bd. 34, Nr. 1 and 7. *NN* 23: §§3001-33, *NN* 24: §§3034-3100, *NN* 25: §§3101-3200.

<sup>30</sup> *AfnF*, 1938, LIV: 94-107.

<sup>31</sup> *SSN*, 1938, XV: 42-57, and 110-21.

<sup>32</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 91-101.

<sup>33</sup> *PBB*, 1938, LXII: 33-42.



are in his opinion originally the work of influential *goðar* (priests) in Norway or in Iceland.

### *Mythology and Religion*

A number of interesting studies in this field have appeared. For a survey one may consult several German articles, e.g., Hans Kuhn's "Germanische Kultur und Dichtung,"<sup>34</sup> Jost Trier's "Germanisches Altertum und Nordische Geistesgeschichte," and "Germanische Religionsgeschichte."<sup>35</sup>

S. Streuvels' *IJslandische godensagen* (Amsterdam, 1938) is a popular account of the Norse myths. But Helge Ljungberg's *Den nordiska religionen och kristendomen; studier över det nordiska religionsskiftet under vikingatiden* (Diss., Uppsala och Stockholm, 1938 = Nordiska texter och undersökningar, utg. i. Uppsala, 11) is a study of real merit. Ljungberg is rightly critical of the German nationalistic romantic school (Neckel, Kummer), and his own picture of the conflicting faiths in the North is the result of sober interpretation of the facts.

Willy Krogmann combines Loki's alias *Lóðurr* with *logapörr* on the Clasp of Nordendorf and OE glosses *logeþer*, *logþor*, *logþer* = 'cacomicanus, marsius,' 'treacherous,' proving the originality of this trait in Loki's character.<sup>36</sup> H. Meyer discusses the *trémenn* of *Edda* and *Ragnars saga Loðbrókar* in "Menschengestaltige Ahnenpfähle aus germanischer und indogermanischer Frühzeit."<sup>37</sup>

Åke Ohlmarks's Heimdallr monograph (*Heimdalls Horn und Odins Auge*) has caused some storm, be it in a teacup. Dag Strömbäck in "Philologisch-kritische Methode und altnordische Religionsgeschichte"<sup>38</sup> finds fault with the author's slipshod methods of criticism, and from Ohlmarks's own "Anmärkningar och genmåle angående Heimdall"<sup>39</sup> we learn that Strömbäck is

<sup>34</sup> *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift f. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, 1938. XVI: Referatenheft 1-15.

<sup>35</sup> *Zf Deutschkunde*, 1938, LII: 577-81 and 382-86.

<sup>36</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 59-70.

<sup>37</sup> *Zd Savigny-Stift. Germ. Abt.*, 1938, LVIII: 42-68.

<sup>38</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 1-24.

<sup>39</sup> *AfnF*, 1939, LIV: 354-63.

not the only one to protest. The German critics have apparently been more lenient.

Finally, two works, though only indirectly connected with religion and mythology, should be mentioned. The first is Haakon Shetelig's "Íslenzkar dysjar og fornleifar frá víkingaöld,"<sup>40</sup> valuable because it correlates the little known archaeological remains in Iceland with finds in the neighboring countries. The second is Fr. Paasche's *Landet med de mørke skibene* (Oslo, 1938), the beginning of a series called "Dronning Ragnhilds tre," covering the history of Norway down to 1319 when that tree, the Norwegian royal family, died out. This first volume deals with the Vikings at home and abroad, stressing the cultural aspects of their history.

### *Language*

In comparison with the meager productions of the preceding years, even including Fr. Ranke's handy *Altnordisches Elementarbuch* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1937=Sammlung Götschen 1115), the linguistic output of the present year is considerable.

In "Anmeldelse av A. Holtsmark: *En islandsk scholasticus fra det 12. aarhundre*, Oslo 1936"<sup>41</sup> Didrik Arup Seip sets the author right on many important points, especially in the field of Middle English grammar. Seip's testimony indicates that a number of traits by which Dr. Holtsmark tried to date the *Treatise* can be moved farther back in time.

Seip has furthermore written a valuable paper on "Assimilasjon, differensiasjon og bøjningssystem i nordisk."<sup>42</sup> Differentiation, he claims, often is the result of a reaction to tendencies that otherwise have ceased to operate. Thus the -ygg- in *tryggr* represents a differentiation counteracting the tendency to diphthongization, characteristic of the West Germanic languages (Germ. *treu*, Engl. *true*). The shift of initial *hv* > *kv* represents a reaction against the wholesale dropping of initial *h* before consonants (*kv*, *hl*, *hr*, *hn*). The paper strikingly solves many puzzles in Scandinavian phonologic development.

In an excellent paper, "Ein archaischer Zug der germanischen

<sup>40</sup> *Árbók hins ísl. fornleifafélags*, 1937-39: 5-18.

<sup>41</sup> *NTJS*, 1938, IX: 352-71.

<sup>42</sup> *NTJS*, 1938, IX: 144-85.

Pronominalflexion,"<sup>43</sup> Ingerid Dal explains the neuter dative form *þvt* (*þt*) in Old Norse by means of parallels from Sanskrit. In "Om verbens ændelse i 3. person singularis."<sup>44</sup> L. Reimer and Hj. Lindroth demolish A. Sommerfelt's thesis that assimilation should have taken place in the 3rd pers. sg. in most verbs. Assimilation could occur only when the root-syllable of the verb ended in a dental, but in the great majority of the verbs, according to Reimer's statistics, such was not the case. Marie Schnieders' *Die einheimischen nicht componierten schwachen Verben der jan-Klasse im Isländischen* (Bryn-Mawr Diss., Göttingen, 1938=Hesperia 19) is an etymological survey of these verbs. Ernst Krenn's "Lautveränderungen im Isländischen und Föroyischen"<sup>45</sup> is quite dilettantic.

There are a number of studies in vocabulary, most interesting of which is J. Reichborn-Kjennerud's "Noen anatomiske uttrykk i gammelnorsk."<sup>46</sup> As always, the author's study of the medical terminology is instructive and welcome. The others are mostly studies, or etymologies, of single words: I. Dal: "German. *brân* als Epitheton von Waffen" (connecting it with Icelandic *brýna*= 'whet,' and *brún*, f.= 'edge.').<sup>47</sup> H. Lindroth: "*Isl. sef*, altschwed. *sæf*- u.s.w., "Binse" (<\**sabja*-, cf. Icel. *safi*),<sup>48</sup> A. Nordling: "Norr. *skörungr* och *sköru(g)*-" (from Icel. *skara*, v.),<sup>49</sup> A. M. Sturtevant: "An Etymology of the Old Norse Word *fljóð* 'Woman,' " (from the same root as *fljó-tr*),<sup>50</sup> H. Andersen: "Old Norse Notes" (correcting some etymologies of A. M. Sturtevant's),<sup>51</sup> A. S. C. Ross: "*Jólaköttur*, Yuilles Yald and similar Expressions,"<sup>52</sup> "Jomali," (the god of the Bjarmar),<sup>53</sup> and "OWN Bjarmar: Russian Perm."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *NTfS*, 1938, IX: 186-218.

<sup>44</sup> *AfnF*, 1938, LIV: 181-200.

<sup>45</sup> *Anthropos*, 1938, XXXIII: 165-80.

<sup>46</sup> *AfnF*, 1939, LIV: 201-14. Cf. also by the same author "Gamle sykdomsnavn," *MoM*, 1938: 109-12.

<sup>47</sup> *NTfS*, 1938, IX: 219-30.

<sup>48</sup> *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Holger Pedersen* (Aarhus, 1937, pp. 343-50=Acta Iutlandica X).

<sup>49</sup> *SNF*, 1938, XXVIII: 2: 1-62.

<sup>50</sup> *SSN*, 1938, XV: 26-28.

<sup>51</sup> *JEGPh*, 1938, XXXVII: 80.

<sup>52</sup> *SBVS*, 1937, XII: 1: 1-18.

<sup>53</sup> *APhSc*, 1937-38, XII: 170-73.

<sup>54</sup> *Leeds Studies in English*, 1937, VI: 5-13.

Work on Icelandic place names continues at a good pace. The first monograph to appear is Þorkell Jóhannesson: *Örnefni í Vestmannaeyjum* (Reykjavík, 1938), a solid piece of work. Many studies of individual place names or groups of place names are to be found in *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 1937-39, but I shall mention only Ólafur Lárusson's "Kirkjuból" (pp. 19-56), which shows the distribution of this place name in Iceland and dates it in the first half of the 11th century. E. Krenn's "Isländische und Föroyische Ortsnamen"<sup>55</sup> is of no value, at least so far as the Icelandic place names are concerned.

Two notable works on syntax have been written in French: Fernand Mossé: *La périphrase verbale être+participe présent en ancien germanique* (Diss. Paris, 1938), and J. Fourquet: *L'ordre des éléments de la phrase en germanique ancien* (Diss. Strasbourg; Paris, 1938). Both treat all the Old Germanic dialects, including Old Norse. Mossé suggests that *kom ríðandi* may have been formed under French influence, 'il vint chevauchant,' the medium being the learned style. It seems to me that he does not take into account the peculiar fact of distribution. When it is realized that the Scandinavian languages have known practically only the type *kom ríðandi*, while German has *kam geritten* and Old and Middle English had *com ridan* (inf.), it would seem more likely that the type arose in Scandinavia and spread to England, where it is found in Ælfric (who frequently shows Anglian influence) and in the *Peterborough Chronicle*. J. Fourquet's study of word order in the Old Germanic dialects, including "Prose et Poésie Scandinaves," is one of the best dissertations I have seen, and it can be recommended to all students.

I shall close this report by mentioning two papers by Lee M. Hollander: "Litotes in Old Norse,"<sup>56</sup> and "Verbal Periphrasis and Litotes in Old Norse."<sup>57</sup> They are welcome additions to our none too exact knowledge of these matters.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

<sup>55</sup> *WuS*, 1938, XIX: 134-41.

<sup>56</sup> *PMLA*, 1938, LIII: 1-33.

<sup>57</sup> *Monatshfte f.d. Unterricht*, 1938, XXX: 182-89.

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# Scandinavian Studies

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## AN AMERICAN APPRECIATION OF ESAIAS TEGNÉR\*

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT  
*University of Kansas*

LADIES and Gentlemen:

I come to you today not as a man of science nor as a research scholar, but as a spokesman of culture who has a message of appreciation to deliver to you. I do this because I feel that appreciation is an essential part of culture and of literary interpretation. What I have to say is personal and subjective, and therefore hardly capable of objective analysis, even as personality itself defies a purely objective criterion. Tegnér's poetic genius has long been subjected to scholarly analysis and interpretation; therefore I do not intend to offer any contribution with reference to Tegnér's literary activity, unless, indeed, a purely appreciative approach may be considered a contribution. I am simply going to tell you what Tegnér has meant to *me*, and when I say "to me," I necessarily imply "to me, as an American." For we are all Americans, and as such, we necessarily view a foreign poet more or less from the American point of view and in the light of our own national culture. Yet within a nationality individuals differ from one another and often to such a degree that they feel themselves closer akin to individuals of foreign nationality than to their own fellow country-men. And to me, Esaias Tegnér, the Swedish poet, has always stood closer in spirit than has any one of our own American poets, with the possible exception of Emerson. This kinship which I feel with Tegnér has not only a personal significance, it may perhaps be interpreted also from a national viewpoint.

\* A paper read at the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the *Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, May 3, 1940, Northfield, Minn.

Tegnér's sensitive and refined spirit has always seemed to me to represent exactly that which a great democracy like America ought to cultivate to the highest degree, since it is the very lack of this refinement of soul and of intellect that brands a democracy at its worst. Any American student who makes an appreciative study of Tegnér's poetry will certainly become conscious of the vast gulf between the dominant sentiment of the American *hoi polloi* and the noble, refined spirit of the Swedish poet, who gave to mankind, above all, a better appreciation of those permanent evaluations which should stand as the foundation of our national life.

"But," you interpose, "this is true of all great poets; all you really say is that idealism should guide the cultural life of a nation." I grant the objection. But nevertheless, I repeat that I here wish to call the attention of American scholars to the important fact that among the Scandinavian nations Sweden has offered a fine idealism, and that Tegnér's literary productions in particular reveal Swedish idealism in one of its rarest and most beautiful forms. This fact should not be underrated by students of Scandinavian literature.

But why should I single out Tegnér to represent an idealism which should inspire our American cultural life, especially since even in Sweden there are, and always have been, other great poets who, as Ibsen says, "carry aloft the banner of the ideal"? And here again we come to the personal equation. Individuals may honor and respect each other, but they find an affinity with each other, a deep and abiding love for each other, only when a mutual chord is struck which sounds the blending of the two souls in one. My early youth was associated with Swedish people. They first called my attention to Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, and the first point of contact between Tegnér and myself was established. Gradually, as I progressed in my reading of Tegnér's poetry, I seemed to hear more and more clearly that strain of music which united his soul with mine. But just exactly what the melody of that strain was, whether the minor key of *Mjelt-sjukan* or the major key of *Sång till solen*, I cannot say; perhaps both. At any rate, the chord was struck, the melody resounded, and I felt an irresistible impulse (which Ibsen termed "the call")

to interpret Tegnér to my fellow country-men and thus to bring to light an idealism which should be an inspiration to both our national and our individual life.

There are many points of contact between Tegnér and myself which gave birth to this responsive strain. As I look upon the matter now, I believe that there were at least three fundamental qualities of his noble spirit which drew me irresistibly to him: *viz.*, (I) his refinement: refinement of soul, of intellect, and of literary feeling; (II) his humanitarian ideals; and (III) his modesty. Let me elucidate more fully.

### I. *His Refinement*

Refinement is a term hard to define precisely. It includes many shades of ethical and esthetical qualities. But at the bottom, refinement postulates a sense of discretion and propriety that can belong only to a noble spirit. Tegnér seemed to me to possess a refinement of soul which stood out in such bold relief against the coarse, crass, blatant, selfish, egotistical spirit of the average man that I have always felt the lofty spirit of Tegnér to offer me a sacred refuge from the world about me. This refinement of spirit in Tegnér has so many delicate shades that it is impossible to discuss them here in detail. Little touches here and there may, however, serve to illustrate my point. For instance, in *Fridsröster* where Tegnér reviews the brutal, insane cruelties of war; when peace at last comes, the bright evening star shines forth upon the heavens and peace descends; hatred is gone, love is triumphant:

Kommer qvällen med sin stjerna,—  
qvällen är med friden slägt.

There is something here which transcends the ordinary contemplation of nature. There is a transcendental significance in that moment of the day when all nature sinks into peace and rest. Goethe himself, the classic poet of German literature, offers essentially the same interpretation of that divine inspiration which the setting sun affords all souls in tune with the infinite: "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh'." And to my mind this interpretation represents a refinement of soul which the ordinary man never experiences.

Now as to the refinement of intellect. Even as a schoolboy, it became apparent to me that Tegnér's poetry reflected a deep and penetrating intellect as well as a beautiful spirit. His utilization of classical culture, the searching, logical analysis characteristic of his prose writings—to mention only two salient features—clearly revealed to me the cultured scholar that he was. Indeed, I was not at all surprised when I learned that he had been professor of Greek at Lund university. Gradually I sensed the fact that the poetic structure of his works was built with that exquisite sense of proportion which can be attained only through the classic training of the intellect. His scholarly, cultured spirit inspired me as an ideal towards which I myself should strive. And when I undertook the task of writing on literature, where good taste is so essential, I experienced a painful realization of that vast gulf between the crudity of my own composition and the clarity and beauty of Tegnér's style. Then I sensed most acutely the refinement of an intellect which could mould poetic visions into such delicate and perfect form. The intellect, as Tegnér repeatedly emphasized, is the guiding hand which performs this difficult task. So far as intellect is concerned, Tegnér revealed an exactness and a logical sequence corresponding to his esthetic sense of proportion.

Thus the intellect and the spirit, these two complementary phases of cultural life, became blended into one organic whole—which I might term the consummation of art, but which Tegnér so beautifully designated as "kraft och klarhet." This brilliant synthesis, so masterfully presented in his poetic address *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund*, became for me an ideal before which I reverently bow my head, even as the Ancient Greeks bowed down before Apollo, the patron god of art. To me this ideal of "clarity and strength" represents the epitome of all that is refined in intellect and in spirit. When we realize how crude and unclear, how lacking in sense of proportion and in fineness of feeling some of our American scholars are—and I do not exempt myself—we may do well if we just go back—if I may say *back* and not *forward*—to Tegnér's ideal of "kraft och klarhet," which he himself exemplified, for he has here offered a permanent contribution to the world of scholarship. *Form* is an essential part of scholarship. And I am furthermore con-



vinced that even among our contributors to esthetic and philosophical thought there are many who could profit by a closer appreciation of Tegnér's *spirituality*—a term which I use with some reservation, since it is extremely hard to define with any exactness. But by "spirituality" I imply that delicate refinement of spirit which senses the permanent evaluations of life. To me Tegnér exemplifies exactly this attribute.

## II. *His Humanitarian Ideals*

There are, to be sure, many poets in the history of the world's literature who have eloquently defended the fundamental ideal of humanity, necessary for a peaceful and happy life. But I dare say that no Swedish poet has ever given to the world a nobler or more beautiful exposition of brotherly love than did Tegnér. Indeed, this was one of Tegnér's most precious contributions to humanity; and even as a boy I felt him to belong to me personally, as a brother in spirit. The gulf between Swedish and English, the difference in nationality, seemed to fade away; and in their place came a sense of unity. One might here accuse me of prejudice, and indeed, I may not be entirely free of that human sentiment, for as an out-and-out Unitarian (or heretic, whatever you may choose to designate a member of that religious body) I am, as you know, thoroughly and unequivocally in agreement with Tegnér, insofar as his unorthodox views on religion are concerned. But it was by no means this unorthodox attitude on Tegnér's part that drew me closest to him, but rather that humanitarian spirit which prompted this unorthodox attitude. To Tegnér humanity meant more than the Church; his sympathetic soul saw beyond a conventional ecclesiastical spirit into a brotherhood of man, which stands far above any institutional religion. Many are the beautiful and noble expressions of Tegnér's cosmopolitan spirit of humanity, and I need not dwell upon them here. But there is one passage in his poem *Den vise*, which has always captivated my soul as one of the finest expressions of Tegnér's religious idealism. Idealism raises the philosopher above the common man, who lacks any sentiment of the noble and refined in life. The truly religious man is not separated from humanity; he is humanity's king, enthroned upon the heights:

Opp till maktens höjder honom lyfta,  
att med stormarna och åskan bo!

It was there that Tegnér stood, far above the orthodox and the conventional, and there he still stands for me, "amid the storms and thunder," which never disturb nor move his indestructible idealism and love of humanity.

### III. *His Modesty*

It may seem trivial to include Tegnér's modesty as one of those qualities which drew him close to me. But modesty is by no means a predominant virtue in the character of famous poets. Tegnér's modesty has always appealed to me as one of the most gracious and lovable traits of his personality. His tendency to underrate himself and to give praise to others stands out in bold relief against the vanity and self-assertion of many great men in high repute and authority. But I believe that the chief reason why this modesty on Tegnér's part made such a deep impression upon me was that I construed this quality of his character as a fundamental phase of that pathetic struggle within his soul which culminated in the collapse of his splendid genius, so powerfully portrayed in *Mjeltsjukan*. Many have turned from *Mjeltsjukan* with a sense of revulsion and disgust. But in spite of this painful, pathological expression of a distorted vision there has in *Mjeltsjukan* always seemed to me to run a strain of modesty, unconsciously but inextricably woven into the pattern of the poem. Tegnér's sense of failure and disaster appears to me, at least in part, an exaggerated expression of his innate modesty. All pathological conditions result in exaggeration, and to me *Mjeltsjukan* represents a striking example of an inferiority complex, a pathological exaggeration of Tegnér's normal, healthy sense of his own shortcomings as a poet and as a human being. In *Mjeltsjukan* Tegnér's modesty becomes distorted, even ugly; but to my mind the *svartalf* is the evil spirit of madness which converts a gentle, gracious sense of modesty into a tragic failure. And I have never turned from *Mjeltsjukan* with disgust but rather with the most profound sympathy with a soul who could so painfully exaggerate his own faults.

In connection with Tegnér's modesty there is one incident in his life which I cannot here refrain from mentioning. As the end of life approached and he lay stricken with a paralytic stroke in a hospital in Schleswig, his mind, shattered as it was, nevertheless preserved this gracious attitude of modesty. In his delirium he investigated the percentage of gold in the Swedish poets of his era; to Franzén he attributed 90 per cent, but to himself never more than 75 per cent—a touching tribute to his friendship for Franzén and to his own innate modesty.

Then, when his mind cleared and he was once more able to write, he composed the last farewell to his muse and to life, *Afsked till min lyra*, one of the most beautiful and pathetic expressions of a life nobly lived. And even here, to the very end, when his soul was about to take its flight from this mortal life, that gracious spirit of modesty still rang out as one of the dominant tones in the symphony of his life song.

In *Afsked till min lyra* Tegnér is in reality talking to himself; his lyre is the music within his own soul, that strain which unites him with the divine. As the tones of his lyre die out, he laments the coming separation from her, his companion in joy and in sorrow, yet at the same time he graciously reminds her that she has poured forth her music from many a better heart than his:

För dina toner mina sorger veko,  
som Sauls fordom, och af dem ljud eko  
i månet godt och bättre bröst än mitt.

Then he speaks of *Svea*, of *Frithiof*, and rejoices in the memory of all those happy moments when his unshattered mind had been the companion of this divine spirit of poetry. Yet before he takes his last farewell, he pathetically reminds his muse that his departure from her will not mean *her* death. She shall not go with him, for, like the phoenix from his ashes, the ideal Swedish skald shall some day arise and fulfill that divine mission of poetry, wherein he himself has failed—one of the most pathetic and exalted passages in all Tegnér's poetry, and a noble tribute to his gentle modesty:

Den dag skall komma, då utur min aska  
en skald skall uppstå för att sjunga ut

i slag, som klinga, uti toner raska,  
 hvad jag ej hunnit, förr'n min kraft tog slut,  
 hvad stort och ädelt i det nordanländska  
 som återstår ännu, det väldiga, det svenska.—

I have always felt this poem, *Afsked till min lyra*, to be not only a composition of most exquisite beauty but also one of the grandest tributes to a noble life:

Förvissna, Febi lager, på min panna,  
 dö på min tunga, du min sista sång!

Tegnér's last song revealed the very essence of his noble soul, his love of all that is beautiful and refined, and withal so simple and modest:

. . . ty allt det höga är enkelt,  
 både i lära och sång, ett barn kan fatta dess mening.

Tegnér's modesty seems to me simply another phase of his simplicity, a part of his own ideal of "clarity and strength," for modesty sees far more clearly than does vanity.

And now as I take leave of Tegnér, I wish here, as an American, to give personal expression to the great contribution which he has rendered me. In a word, I have through him been brought closer not only to a higher idealism but to a noble people whose spokesman he was. Through him Sweden has come to me, not as Tegnér depicted her in *Svea*, but as the ideal Sweden, Sweden in her culture, in her refinement, and in her scholarship. And perhaps, after all, this personal appreciation may be interpreted in a larger and more significant phase, for the personal may be the first seed from which the national grows, leading finally to international sympathy, understanding, and peace. If I have overrated Tegnér either as a poet or as a man, I assure you that I have, nevertheless, not in the least overrated his influence upon me personally, and I am convinced that despite any margin of personal error I have in this appreciation given to you the *spirit* of that principle for which our Society was founded: the advancement of Scandinavian study.

## AEGEAN CULTURE CURRENTS IN THE BALTIC

ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

*Princeton, N. J.*

### I

CHAPTERS XIV and XV of the *Ynglinga Saga* relate the following rather remarkable story:

Visbur inherited after his father Vanland. He married the daughter of Aude the Rich, and gave her as her bride-gift three large farms, and a gold ornament. They had two sons, Gisle and Ond; but Visbur left her and took another wife, whereupon she went home to her father with her two sons. Visbur had a son who was called Domald, and his stepmother used witchcraft to give him ill-luck. Now, when Visbur's sons were, the one twelve, the other thirteen years of age, they went to their father's place, and desired to have their mother's dower; but he would not deliver it to them. Then they said that the gold ornament should be the death of the best man in all his race; and they returned home. Then they began again with enchantments and witchcraft, to try if they could destroy their father. The sorceress Hulda said that by witchcraft she could bring it about by this means, that a murderer of his own kin should never be wanting in the Yngling race; and they agreed to have it so. Thereafter they collected men, came unexpectedly in the night on Visbur, and burned him in his house.

Domald took the heritage of his father Visbur, and ruled over the land. As in his time there was great famine and distress, the Swedes made great offerings of sacrifice at Upsal. The first autumn they sacrificed oxen, but the succeeding season was not improved by it. The following autumn they sacrificed men, but the succeeding year was rather worse. The third autumn, when the offer of sacrifices should begin, a great multitude of Swedes came to Upsal; and now the chiefs held consultations with each other, and all agreed that the times of scarcity were on account of their king Domald, and they resolved to offer him for good seasons, and to assault and kill him, and sprinkle the altar of the gods with his blood. And they did so.<sup>1</sup>

It is of course clear that this account is based on the age-old custom of holding the king responsible for the crops and of sacrificing him in times of failure of harvests, a custom well attested in many parts of the earth.<sup>2</sup>

It is fairly certain also that there is a close connection between the accounts of chapters XIV and XV, in fact, closer than Snorri's text would suggest. For though chapter XV alleges no

<sup>1</sup> Transl. Samuel Laing.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1911, I, 353 ff.; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, I, 183.

reason for the three years' famine, the context sufficiently indicates that it is the outcome of the evil arts employed by Hulda. In other words, after having brought about the ruin of King Visbur, she in turn causes the death of his son: her hate, as chapter XIV expressly states, is not directed against King Visbur alone but against the dynasty of the Ynglings.

The text does not specify the nature of the spells and their effect. We must therefore inquire into the character of the sorceress, who in the text is called *Huldr*.

In Germany, the name *Holda*, as early as the time of Burchar of Worms, denotes a pagan Teutonic goddess who appears to have been equated with the Latin Diana.<sup>3</sup> She was a goddess of agricultural fertility, presumably an earth goddess, with decidedly chthonian features.<sup>4</sup> As *Frau Holle* she still survives in German fairy tales. Jacob Grimm thought her, no doubt correctly, a figure closely related to the Nerthus mentioned by Tacitus, to Frigg, to Freya, and to similar divinities.<sup>5</sup> Her chthonian features sufficiently explain her transformation, in Snorri's text, into a witch. Nor is this transformation a peculiarly Scandinavian feature. In the *Book of Kings* mention is made of a Hebrew 'wise woman' called *Chuledda*, *Chulda*, and Martin Luther did not hesitate to render this Semitic name by *Hulda*, which proves that also in Lower Saxony the ancient goddess had, by Luther's time, been degraded to the rank of a mere sorceress.<sup>6</sup> We are thus led to conclude that king Visbur's enemy was, originally, no banal witch but none other than the goddess of agricultural fertility, the giver of prosperity to the rural populations of the ancient North, and this function explains most satisfactorily her ability to send drought and famine if she is offended by some ill-advised ruler.

In Snorri's account the ancient gods and goddesses have of course lost their old splendor and have been degraded to the

<sup>3</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, I<sup>4</sup>, 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222, and my *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques*, Paris, 1928, pp. 101-14.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.*, I<sup>4</sup>, 224.

<sup>6</sup> 2 *Kings*, xxii. 14; 2 *Chron.*, xxxiv. 22. Luther's translation was adopted by many of the versions sponsored by the London Bible Society. Cf. Grimm, I, 224.

rank of vulgar wizards and sorceresses. This euhemerist tendency may also explain the somewhat far-fetched motivation of the misfortunes of the Swedish royal dynasty, attributed to the domestic troubles of king Visbur.

The idea that a repudiated queen should harbor hostile feelings toward her erstwhile spouse is not restricted to the Scandinavian North. The Latin *Vita Coemgeni*,<sup>7</sup> of Irish origin, tells a similar story. Colman, the son of Carbre, finding his first wife incompatible, put her away and took another. Unfortunately, the rejected woman was powerful in *magicis artibus* and proceeded to sing spells which destroyed the children of her successor, until at last one of them (Faelan) was saved by a miracle of St. Coemgen.

No one will suspect that this Irish saint's life was influenced by the *Ynglinga Saga*, the less so because in the former the witch does not destroy the king's sons in an indirect manner, as she does in the Swedish tradition, but kills them outright. We are therefore dealing with two independent stories, outgrowths of a human, nay, all too human, conflict and the universal belief in the efficacy of charms and spells.

A situation far closer to that related in the saga is found in a Greek story cycle, localized in the ancient city of Orchomenos, an Hellenic cult center antedating by many centuries the settlement of the historical Boeotian population in these regions.

Sophocles (who is our oldest source) relates the following story: King Athamas repudiates his wife, the goddess Nephele (Cloud), and marries a mortal woman. Thereupon Nephele brings drought and famine upon the country. The king sends out messengers to consult the oracle of Delphi. His second wife bribes these messengers, and they declare on their return that the gods demand the king's two children by his first marriage, Phrixos and Helle, in sacrifice. They are about to be fetched from the fields where they guard their father's flocks, when they are miraculously saved, after the manner described in a well-known *märchen* type.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> C. Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, 250 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 257; Eudoc. *Violar.* 28; cf. also Schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 70. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, XXXIV (1923), pp. 141-47.

According to Apollodorus, Ino, the stepmother of the children, causes the seed-corn to be parched,<sup>9</sup> thus bringing about a crop failure and famine. Messengers are sent to Delphi, with the same result as in the preceding version.<sup>10</sup>

There can be little doubt as to which of the two versions is the original one: Athamas' first wife, the goddess presiding, as her name indicates, over the rainfall, is the logical person to send drought and famine. She is therefore the exact equivalent of the Nordic Huldr, and this Hellenic tradition thus confirms our conjecture that in the lost Scandinavian original Huldr was no vulgar witch but the repudiated queen in person and a goddess.

There is, in the Greek tradition, but one incongruity. In accepting Sophocles' account we should be driven to the conclusion that Nephele, in sending the famine, was intent on destroying her own offspring—a manifest absurdity. It would therefore be far more logical to assume that Phrixos and Helle were really Athamas' children by his second marriage and that the readings of the extant texts are due to some confusion or misunderstanding. This conjecture is strikingly confirmed by a lost tragedy of Euripides of which Hyginus has preserved a short summary.

In this lost play King Athamas marries Themisto after he has come to believe his first wife, Ino (which is the name of the stepmother in Apollodorus' version), to have died. The latter is, however, very much alive, having assumed the garb and demeanor of a slave in Athamas' household. Themisto, like a true stepmother, is intent on the slaying of her predecessor's children while they are asleep. To distinguish them from her own, she orders a slave to dress hers in white tunics, those of Ino in black tunics. Unfortunately for her, this slave is none other than Ino, who naturally arranges matters in exactly the opposite fashion from that desired by Themisto; the latter slays her own children

<sup>9</sup> On the parching of spelt, millet, and panic, to separate the grain from the husk, cf. Pliny, *N.H.* XVIII. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Apollod., I. 9. 1; cf. also Tzetzes on Lyc. *Al.* 22; Zenob. IV. 38; Eudoc. *Violar.* 342, 478; Hyg. *Fab.* 2 f.



by mistake and then, on discovering the fact, in despair kills herself.<sup>11</sup>

The trick played by Ino on her rival is of course the well-known one of Perrault, *Petit Poucet*. This version, however, clearly shows Ino in the rôle of the wife whose children are persecuted by a jealous rival. Themisto corresponds to Nephele. She, too, appears to have been a goddess: her name is but a variant of *Themis*, the name of the old earth goddess of Delphi, who was also a goddess of fertility. The conclusion seems justified that in the original story Nephele persecuted the children of her successor, just as in the *Ynglinga Saga* the repudiated queen persecutes the son of king Visbur's second wife.

The question arises: How are these resemblances to be explained? Quite true, they have a common basis, the sacrifice of the king (or the king's son) to appease the angry gods in times of famine, a practice found not only in Scandinavia and pre-Hellenic Greece but in many other countries besides. But it is hardly reasonable to suppose that out of this common root two traditions so strikingly similar should have arisen independently.

## II

An Anglo-Saxon runic poem repeatedly commented upon reads as follows:

67	Ing wæs ærest	mid East-Denum
	gesewen secgun	oþ he siððan eft
	ofer wæg gewāt	—wæn æfter ran—;
	ðus hearingas	ðone hæle nemdun,

which, in modern English, means "Ing first appeared to men among the East Danes, until subsequently he again departed over the waves,—his chariot followed him,—thus the brave called the hero."<sup>12</sup>

According to this text, then, the chariot followed the god, for Ing is, of course, Yngvi-Frey, the great Vanir god of the Swedes,

<sup>11</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 4; cf. Nonnus, *Dionys.* VIII. 172; cf. Karl Otfried Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, Breslau, 1844, p. 166.

<sup>12</sup> F. Klaeber, *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Spr. u. Lit.*, CXLII (1921), pp. 250-53.

and we naturally think of the chariot of Nerthus, mentioned by Tacitus,<sup>13</sup> and the chariot of Frey, which plays a rôle in a well-known episode of the great Saga of Olaf Tryggwason.<sup>14</sup> What is not so clear is the strange notion that the chariot should follow the god, since gods, like mortals, are usually shown seated in their chariots and not preceding them. We are also at a loss to account for the chariot's taking its course over the waves, which is clearly absurd if the chariot is an ordinary one.

Dr. Klæber tried to overcome the first of these difficulties by assuming that Ing was seated in front of the chariot, like a coachman, so that with a little good-will one might say that the rest of the chariot, at all events, did follow him. Few scholars, I believe, will accept this somewhat forced explanation. As for the second difficulty, Dr. Klæber suggested that the poet had in mind no ordinary chariot but a different vehicle, half chariot, half boat, a sort of wheeled boat, of the type mentioned by Tacitus<sup>15</sup> and used in certain processions of Mediaeval Belgium and the Rhine country. It is however doubtful whether the Anglo-Saxon poet would have called such a vehicle a chariot; for Tacitus and the mediaeval documents speak of it as a boat, in spite of the wheels, the shape of the vehicle evidently being the decisive factor. In these circumstances it would seem fair enough to assume that we are dealing with a mythical chariot, particularly if it is remembered that to this day the English word *wain* is used to denote the constellation otherwise known as the Dipper (*Ursa major*).

This constellation, as is generally known, is composed of four stars,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ , which form the wheels of the chariot, and three additional ones,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ , which are the draft animals (horses or oxen). To these must be added an eighth star, hardly visible to the naked eye, called  $g$  by the astronomers. It is located just above  $\zeta$  and is identified with the driver of the chariot, who is thus imagined seated on the middle one of the three draft animals. According to another view, the conductor of the chariot is not seated at all but marches in front of the horses: he is the  $\beta\omicron\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$

<sup>13</sup> *Germania*, c. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, III (1928), pp. 226-33.

<sup>15</sup> *Germania*, c. 9.

of the Greeks, later known as ἀρκτοῦρος or ἀρκτοφύλαξ, the *Fuhrmann* of the Germans. Whichever view be adopted, it is clear that the chariot truly follows the driver, precisely as in our poem.

This interpretation also explains the second difficulty; for what is impossible for an ordinary chariot, namely to take its course over the waves, is quite natural for the Wain, which was a trusty guide to primitive navigators, as it still is the point of orientation for Mediterranean sailors, who think they are lost if they lose sight of the *Tremountano*.

This conjecture is further confirmed by the great diffusion of the name borne by the Dipper, which is called *Charles' Wain* in England and Scandinavia, *Char Poucet* in Belgium, *char el ciel*, *chariot au ciel* in O.Fr., *char vainguet* in Neuchâtel, *chariot de David* in France, *Elias' Wagen* or *St. Peters Wagen* in Germany, *Thor's Wain* in an Old Swedish chronicle, *Hackelbergs Wagen* in parts of Northern Germany, *vehiculum Osiridis* by the ancient Egyptians, etc.<sup>16</sup> There would then be nothing incongruous in the thought that Yngvi-Frey, who is definitely connected with a chariot, should for once have taken the place of Thor or of other divinities or deified heroes who have given their names to the constellation of *Ursa major*.

Nor is this all. Comparing the Egyptian *vehiculum Osiridis* with the proposed *Ing's Wain*, we notice that Ing corresponds to Osiris. Here we are at once struck by a number of other features, far from commonplace, held in common by the two divinities and their respective cycles. Tacitus identified Nerthus with Isis, struck no doubt by the similarity of the rites observed by his authority among the Baltic tribes with those celebrated in the Mediterranean countries, under the auspices of Isis, at the opening of the season of navigation. But Nerthus is the female counterpart of Njörðr, Frey's father. In the Egyptian Osiris religion the phallus of the dead god plays a prominent part; but we know from Adam of Bremen that the Frey of Upsala was a phallic divinity. Osiris' wife was his own sister Isis, a myth far from shocking if it is remembered that marriages of brother and

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gaston Paris, *Le Petit Poucet et la Grande Ourse*, Paris, 1875, *passim*; Paul Sébillot, *Le Folklore de France*, I (1904), pp. 28 f.; Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, II<sup>a</sup>, 604 ff.

sister were quite common in Egypt and customary in the royal dynasties down to the time of the Ptolemies. But Frey was the offspring of just such a marriage, and Snorri feels obliged to explain that consanguineous marriages, though forbidden among the Æsir (and *a fortiori* among men), were permitted among the Vanir.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the gods followed the custom or family law of an alien race, totally at variance with the customs of their worshippers, which fact is a decisive proof, it would seem, of the foreign origin of those gods. Finally, there is the belief, barely concealed in the saga text, that the corpse of Frey ensured good crops to the country, a belief which is the very foundation of the Egyptian Osiris religion. Quite true, Frey, unlike Osiris, is not cut into pieces after his death; but, curiously enough, this very feature appears in the Finnish tradition about Läminkäinen, admittedly a Finnish equivalent of the Swedish Frey. His body is cut up by Tuoni's son; the pieces are collected together by his mother, and the corpse is brought back to life.<sup>18</sup> To sum up, Ing appears to stand in the very center of a cluster of traditions and conceptions, the closest analogues of which are found in the Egyptian Osiris cult.

The Greeks appear to have lacked a name corresponding to the Egyptian *vehiculum Osiridis*. The underlying concept was however quite well known to them, since they called the βώτης, i.e., the small star above ζ, 'Myrtilos' (Μυρτίλος) and told the following story about him.

Myrtilos was the charioteer of King Oinomaos, who had vowed to give his daughter, Hippodameia, only to him who would succeed in beating him in a chariot race. All unsuccessful candidates he slew with his own hands. At last young Pelops presented himself who, doubting his own ability, bribed Myrtilos with promises, and the treacherous charioteer so arranged matters that Oinomaos found his death in the fatal race. Far from keeping his promise which, if certain texts are to be believed, was of a particularly delicate nature,<sup>19</sup> Pelops betrayed the be-

<sup>17</sup> *Ynglingasaga*, c. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Jacob Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 90 f.

<sup>19</sup> Pelops was said to have promised Myrtilos the *ius primae noctis* with Hippodameia in reward for his treason.

trayer by hurling him from a cliff into the sea. But Myrtilos' father, who was none other than the god Hermes, placed him forthwith among the stars, where he became the driver of the heavenly chariot, the constellation *Ursa major*.<sup>20</sup>

Who is this Myrtilos? The name can hardly be separated from the word *μύρτος* 'myrtle,' and *Μυρτίλος* therefore simply means 'little myrtle.' Now this plant is connected not only with Aphrodite, the goddess of love, but also with Myrtilos' father, Hermes, particularly the ithyphallic Hermes which was seen, entirely wrapped in myrtle boughs, in the temple of Athena Polias of Athens.<sup>21</sup> It is difficult also not to see some connection between the name of Myrtilos and the not very modest reward he tries to exact from Pelops. Myrtilos is therefore probably a special form (hypostasis) of the ithyphallic Hermes, a conclusion confirmed also by the tomb of Myrtilos shown near the temple of Hermes at Phainai,<sup>22</sup> by the tradition according to which it was Pelops who built the first temple of Hermes in the Peloponnese,<sup>23</sup> and by the parallel tradition according to which the name of the driver of the Wain was Heniochos, whom the mythographers identify outright with the god Hermes.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to separate this ithyphallic divinity from the ithyphallic Frey, who, under the name of Ing, is likewise the charioteer of the Wain.

Again it is hardly conceivable that these striking resemblances and parallelisms should have arisen independently in the East Mediterranean and in Sweden.

### III

One of the most curious productions of Norse poetry is the Song of Grotti, connected with the legendary King Froði of Denmark, who is known to be but a human form of the Swedish

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hyg. *P.A.* II. 13; *Astr. Eratost.* 13; Germ. Arat., *Phaenom.* 162; Nonnos, *Dionys.* XXXIII. 294; K. Tümpel, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, col. 3315.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. I. 27. 1; cf. J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie*, Innsbruck, 1890, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Paus. VIII. 14. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Paus. V. 1. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 224; *Astr.* II. 13.

god Frey. The story told in the poem and in Snorri Sturluson's prose version is well known: King Froði employs two giant maids, Menja and Fenja, to grind for him, in a giant mill, prosperity and happiness, symbolized by gold, which the poets therefore called 'Froði's flour.' But when in the end he overworks the maids, they become wroth and instead grind the destruction of Froði's realm. Then comes the mighty Hrolfr Kraki, in Snorri's prose version the sea-king Mysing, to sack the capital, slaying the king and carrying off his treasures.<sup>25</sup>

Snorri has a good deal to tell about King Froði. He describes him as a mighty king of the North, whose name was known wherever the Norse tongue was spoken. His reign was a golden age, when peace reigned on earth. No blood feud interfered with the general happiness of man, and golden rings could lie safely on Jalangrs Heath, without anyone taking them up. Both Snorri and Saxo Grammaticus make Froði a contemporary of the emperor Augustus, stating that during his reign Christ was born. No doubt, Froði is the euhemerized form of the Swedish god of fertility, a god of plenty, whose reign was a golden age of peace and prosperity but came to a sudden and disastrous end.<sup>26</sup>

One is naturally inclined to ask, first, what a king should have to do with a mill, whether a marvelous or an ordinary one. To clear up this point, we look for parallels elsewhere. We soon find that Froði is by no means the only king thus associated with a mill and with grinding. Plutarch has preserved three lines of an ancient mill song from the island of Lesbos:<sup>27</sup>

"Ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει·  
καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει,  
μεγάλας Μιτυλήνας βασιλεύων.

On hearing the name *Pittakos*, especially in Lesbos, people immediately thought of Pittakos of Mitylene, son of the Thracian Kaikos or Hyrrhadios and a Lesbian woman, the wise legislator who, in the seventh century before our era, accomplished

<sup>25</sup> Transl. L. M. Hollander, *The Poetic Edda* (1928), pp. 179 ff.; cf. *Modern Language Review*, XIX (1924), pp. 325 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326; cf. Jacob Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, IV, 135.

<sup>27</sup> Plutarch, *Sept. sap. conv.*, c. 14.

for his native town much the same reforms that were carried through at Athens by Solon. He was, besides, a sort of Benjamin Franklin, whose wise sayings, full of good practical common sense, were still current in Hellenistic Greece. None the less, Pittakos was not a king, and tradition is absolutely silent about any activity of his which even remotely suggests that which is attributed to him by the song just quoted. We must therefore look farther afield.

The name *Pittakos* is not Greek, a fact hardly surprising since we are told that the father of our legislator was a Thracian. The word *Pittakos* is unquestionably connected with the common noun *πιτικός*, preserved in Byzantine Greek and designating a dwarf or a pigmy. This word is, however, not Greek but appears to have entered the Byzantine vocabulary from some Thracian or Phrygian dialect. This confirms the tradition according to which the father of the historical Pittakos was a Thracian.

Let us however give at least one example for the use of the word *πιτικός* in Byzantine Greek. A Hebrew book, composed by a Constantinopolitan Jew named Judas Hadasi in the year 1148 of the Christian era and known under the title *Echkol Kakofer*, tells a story which has a certain resemblance to the adventures of Gulliver among the Lilliputians. In it the dwarfs are referred to as *Pitikos*, which appears to correspond to a nominative *πιτικοί*.<sup>28</sup> The story itself is quite Greek in character, being apparently derived from the well-known fable of the war between pigmies and cranes alluded to in Homer's *Iliad* (III. 5 ff.). The Jewish nationality of the author is therefore inconsequential for the story he relates.

*Πιτικός*, then, means 'dwarf, pigmy,' a conclusion borne out by the Sardic *pitiku* 'small, little,' which it seems difficult to derive from *petit*.

Let us now return to *Πιττακός*. This word is evidently of the same structure as such names as *Νάννακος*, *Μάνακον*, *Μήνακον*, etc., which are all Phrygian. The form *πιττακός* stands to *πιτικός* in much the same relation as the Thracian *Σπάρτακος* to *Σπάρτικός*.

<sup>28</sup> Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, London, 1925-28, pp. 1052 ff. The *Echkol Kakofer* was printed at Gozolow (Eupatoria) in 1836.

The double consonant, which seems to denote a special intensity in the enunciation of the  $\tau$ , is by no means rare in the Phrygian dialect, as is shown by such double forms as "Αττις and "Ατς, Κότς and Κοττώ (*Cotus* and *Cottus*), Τοτῖς and Τόττης, "Αβρυττος and *Abrutus*, etc.<sup>29</sup> There can therefore be little doubt that *πιττακός*: *πιτικός* is the Thracio-Phrygian word for 'dwarf, pigmy.' There remains the problem of how to explain that such a name, divine or semi-divine, was given to an historical personage. But here it is to be noted that we are dealing with a well-known Phrygian peculiarity, as is shown by the names of the ancient kings of Phrygia. Thus we know that Midas was a silene and a mythical king; but the same name is borne by several perfectly historical kings and in later times even by slaves. Much the same holds true for other divine names such as Μάνης, "Αττης, Παπᾶς, 'Αμμαί, Νάνα, "Αμμα, Μᾶ, Κανδαύλης, etc.<sup>30</sup>

Since the name *Pittakos* means 'dwarf, pigmy,' the question arises whether it is not in this quality that the Lesbian song makes him turn a mill. In that case, it would not be just grain that he is grinding, but something more precious and more suitable for a dwarf. But this would raise the question whether there were not two personages by the name of Pittakos, the historical legislator and some mythical personage, a divine or semi-divine dwarf. What evidence is there for such an hypothesis?

In his *Life of Pittakos* (c. 7) the compiler Diogenes Laertius adds the following significant remark:

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Πιττακὸς νομοθέτης ὡς φησι Φαβρίνιος ἐν ἀπομνηκονευμάτων πρώτῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν ὁμωνύμοις, δὲ καὶ μικρὸς προσηγορεύθη.

"There was also another Pittakos, a lawgiver, as Favorinus tells us in the first book of his *Commentaries*, and Demetrios in his *Essay on Homonyms*. And that other Pittakos was called Pittakos the Little."

Here it is necessary to say a word about the rendering of the word *μικρός*, which in most translations, beginning with the Latin versions of the Renaissance, was erroneously rendered by *Minor*

<sup>29</sup> Paul Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 278; W. Tomaschek, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Cl.*, CXXXI (1894), Abh. 1, pp. 50 and 53.

<sup>30</sup> Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 and 389.



'the Less.'<sup>31</sup> But μικρός can only have the meaning of 'the Little, the Short, the Small,' and it is significant that the modern French version of Robert Genaille translates correctly: "Il y eut un second Pittacos, qui était législateur et qui fut appelé «le Petit»."<sup>32</sup> Similarly the German version of Otto Apelt reads: "Es gab auch noch einen andern Gesetzgeber Pittakos; er wurde 'der Kleine' genannt."<sup>33</sup>

Nor is this all. In another passage (c. 9) Diogenes Laertius, on the authority of Alcaeus, calls Pittakos σαράπους and σάραπος 'the web-footed.' Now it would appear that this strange epithet refers to the dwarf Pittakos, inasmuch as dwarfs are generally credited with goose or duck feet in the traditions of Central Europe.<sup>34</sup>

This text, then, establishes the existence, in ancient Greece, of a dwarf by the name of Pittakos, and there can indeed be little doubt about the fact that it is he and not the lawgiver of Mitylene who is meant in the Lesbian mill song quoted above. He would therefore correspond, if not to King Froði, at least to the two giantesses of the Norse legend. There is, however, some evidence pointing to some Northern tradition in which the gold-grinding demon is likewise a dwarf. Mediaeval documents speak of *Manegold* and *Fenegold* as names applied to males. It is clear that these names cannot very well be separated from *Menja* and *Fenja*, the names of King Froði's mill-maids. On the other hand, we have dwarf names such as *Minnegold* and *Tannegold* in Switzerland, and it is generally supposed that these names are but transformations of *Manegold* and *Fenegold*.<sup>35</sup> But the existence of gold-grinding dwarfs in Northern Europe strengthens

<sup>31</sup> Cf., for example, the great Didot edition (Paris, 1878), p. 20, and the version in Bohn's Classical Library (London, 1895), p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Paris, Garnier Frères, s.d., p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Leipzig, 1921, I, 39. On the important question of the proper translation of μικρός referring to persons cf. also Rendel Harris, *The Twelve Apostles*, Cambridge, 1927, p. 60.

<sup>34</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, I<sup>4</sup>, 372.

<sup>35</sup> J. Jegerlehner, *Sagen und Märchen aus dem Oberwallis*, Basle, 1913, pp. 191 f.; cf. also E. Brugger, *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLIV<sup>3</sup> (1917), pp. 102 ff.

the presumption that the dwarf Pittakos was of the same type, a conclusion borne out, to a certain extent, by the word *χρυσομύλι*, the name of a mill noted in a travel work composed shortly after the middle of the last century.<sup>36</sup> It is also to be noted that in Ancient Greece the Telchines, skilful dwarfs and expert workers in metals, are generally connected with mills, which they are also supposed to have invented.<sup>37</sup> Lastly, the notion of a demon producing gold like flour is typically Phrygian; it has a close parallel in the Phrygian tradition of Midas, a silene and a king of the golden age, who transformed everything into gold by his touch.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore fairly certain that if the women of Lesbos mentioned Pittakos in their mill-songs it was in his quality of representative of a golden age now passed forever and also that these songs were essentially of a plaintive and mournful character.

Such songs are found elsewhere in the Ancient Aegean. In Mysia a general feast of mourning was celebrated annually in memory of the untimely death of King Kyzikos, who is said to have ruled over the Doliones in ancient times. His story is simple enough.

Kyzikos, so it reads, was a young king betrothed to Kleite or, according to other accounts, to Larissa, daughter of Piasos. He hospitably received the Argonauts in obedience to an oracle; but after their departure they were driven back to their moorings by contrary winds. In the darkness they were mistaken for enemies by their hosts and attacked. In the fray Kyzikos was slain by Iason, Heracles, or the Dioskouroi.<sup>39</sup> After realizing their fatal error, the Argonauts gave him honorable burial and instituted funeral games. The inhabitants of the town of Kyzikos honored his memory through an annual mourning festival.<sup>40</sup> Kleite, in despair, hanged herself. From her tears arose a spring, subsequently called after her name.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, Basle, 1857, p. 430.

<sup>37</sup> *Revue archéologique*, V<sup>e</sup> série, XXXIII (1931), p. 150.

<sup>38</sup> Kretschmer, p. 203; Tomaschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> *Modern Language Review*, XIX, 328.

<sup>40</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon.*, I. 1075.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 1063; Schol., I. 974, 1063, 1065, 1068; Parth., 28.

The story has long been recognized as a fortuitous accretion to the Argonaut cycle; in its essential features it is much older than that composition. The connection of the two is probably responsible for the accident motive, for it was of course inadmissible that the heroes should have deliberately committed a wilful act of aggression on a kindly and hospitable king. There also existed a version according to which Kyzikos' people attacked the Argonauts at their first landing because they came from Thessaly and because the Doliones, having themselves been driven thence, bore a grudge against the Thessalians.<sup>42</sup> This text would then make the king fall at the hands of a hostile band of invaders.

So far the resemblances between the death of Froði and of Kyzikos are banal enough. But we are further told that one of the most conspicuous features of the annual festival in commemoration of the latter's death was a grinding ritual, that is, a ceremony where all celebrants took a hand-mill and ground, accompanying their work with doleful dirges. The subject of these songs was King Kyzikos and his fatal death.<sup>43</sup>

Grinding ceremonies of this type were not peculiar to the territory of Mysia but appear to have been fairly wide-spread in Greece and Asia Minor.<sup>44</sup> They are characteristic of an agricultural population and are likely to have existed wherever religion was intimately connected with the work of the soil. They appear to have existed in Central and Northern Europe as well. Mediaeval chronicles refer to songs that accompanied them as *cantilenae molaes*, and a Swiss legend, localized at Winterthur, gives

<sup>42</sup> Kon., 41; Ephoros ap. Schol. Ap. Rhod., *Argon.*, I. 1037; cf. G. Knaack, *De fabulis nonnullis Cyzicenis*, in *Commentationes philologiae in honorem sodalitii philologorum Gryphiswaldensis*, Berolini, 1887, pp. 33 f.

<sup>43</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon.*, I. 1070-77:

αινότατον δὴ κείνο Δολιωνίῃσι γυναιξίν  
 ἀνδράσι τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἡμᾶρ ἐπήλυθεν· οὐδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν  
 ἔτλη τις πάσσασθαι ἐδητύος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν  
 ἐξ ἀχέων ἐργοιο μνηφάτου ἐμύωντο·  
 ἀλλ' αὖτως ἀφλεκτα διαζώσκον ἔδοντες.  
 ἐνθ' ἔτι νῦν, εὐτ' ἂν σφιν ἐτήσια χύτλα χέωρται  
 Κύζικον ἐναλοντες Ἰάονες, ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ  
 πανδήμιοι μύλης πελάνους ἐπαλετρεῖουσιν.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Modern Language Review*, XIX, 330, n. 1.

an aetiological explanation of such a local ritual, the endurance of the women who turned a hand-mill after the two regular mills had been destroyed during a siege.<sup>45</sup> Down to the eighteenth century Lithuanian women would sing their *dainos* while grinding on the hand quern.<sup>46</sup> The frequent mention of ἐπιμύλοι ὥδαι shows that these songs formed a special genre in classical antiquity. The common characteristic of these songs is a prevailing tone of sadness, induced, no doubt, by the hard manual labor involved.

Looking at the Song of Grotti from this point of view, one cannot but conclude that it was in all probability such a ritual, connected with the name of Froði, clearly a king of the golden age like the dwarf-king Pittakos and the good King Kyzikos of the Argonaut story, which in the first place gave rise to the story of the mill-maids and Froði's death. In other words, the story of Froði's mill is an aetiological myth explaining why the death of the mythical king was sung by grinding girls at a grinding festival commemorating his premature end, just as did the grinding ceremonies in Mysia with regard to Kyzikos. In Scandinavia, as in Greece, there existed, besides, the tradition of a gold-mill in the possession of the king of the golden age. The development of the Nordic myth probably took place in the following stages:

I. Legend of a god-king and prince of the golden age. His violent death at the hands of hostile invaders puts a sudden end to the time of bliss.

II. Explanation to account for the connection of the grinding ritual with Froði: the happiness of his reign and his downfall were attributed to grinding demons handling a magic quern.

III. This aetiological myth in turn influenced the ritual: the grinding women represent Menja and Fenja and sing a lament which, in the extant poem, constitutes 74 out of 91 lines.

So far there is nothing that would preclude an independent development on a common basis, the grinding ritual and the belief in gold-producing demons, both in the Scandinavian North and in the Aegean. There are however other features, common to both, which cannot be explained quite so simply.

<sup>45</sup> E. L. Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit*, Berlin, 1867, II, 322 f.

<sup>46</sup> O. Hoffmann, *Mitteilungen d. schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Volkskunde*, III (6) (1899), p. 8.

Speaking of Mysia, Strabo (XIII. 3. 4) reports the following very curious tale:

At Larissa Phriconis Piasos is said to have received great honors. He was chief of the Pelasgi, and enamoured, it is said, of his daughter Larissa, whom he violated, and was punished for the outrage. She discovered him leaning over a cask of wine, seized him by his legs, lifted him up, and dropped him down into the vessel.

Now this Larissa, according to some accounts, was the betrothed of King Kyzikos. But what is most striking is that much the same motive, the drowning of the hero in a vat of mead, occurs in Scandinavia. To quote Snorri Sturluson:<sup>47</sup>

Fiqlner, Yngwi-Frey's son, ruled thereafter over the Swedes and the Upsala domains. . . . Once when Fiqlner went to Froði in Seeland, a great feast was prepared for him and invitations to it were sent all over the country. Froði had a large house, in which there was a great vessel many ells high, and put together of great pieces of timber; and this vessel stood in the lower room. Above it was a loft, in the floor of which was an opening through which liquor was poured into this vessel. The vessel was full of mead, which was excessively strong. In the evening Fiqlner, with his attendants, was taken into the adjoining loft to sleep. In the night he went out on the balcony outside . . . and he was very sleepy, and exceedingly drunk. As he came back to his room he went along the balcony to the door of another loft, went into it, and his foot slipping he fell into the vessel of mead, and was drowned.

A variant of the story is reported by Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>48</sup> who ascribes the misfortune to the Swedish King Hunding.

About a century ago Ludwig Uhland<sup>49</sup> pointed out that this motive is intimately connected with the notion of the golden age and its sudden end: the monarch dies of the very abundance of the good things which had made his reign a time of prosperity and bliss. In view of the close connection of this story, on the one hand with Frey-Froði, who is also the hero of the Song of Grotti, on the other with King Kyzikos, in whose memory, as we have seen, the annual grinding festival was held in Mysia, it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for it by independent development.

The matter is finally settled through another feature of the

<sup>47</sup> *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 14 (transl. Laing).

<sup>48</sup> *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Holder, p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> *Schriften*, III, 238, 338, 423 f.; VII, 111 ff.

Song of Grotti. In Snorri's prose version Froði's capital is destroyed by one Mysing, considered, apparently, a sea-king or pirate. The poem attributes the destruction of Froði's kingdom to the famous Hrolfr Kraki. Inasmuch as the rather full tradition about Hrolfr Kraki knows nothing of this exploit of his, whereas Mysing is otherwise quite unknown, it is probable that Hrolfr, as the better known figure, merely usurped the place of the less known one. Who is this Mysing?

Axel Olrik translated the word by 'mouse-grey' and thought of the sea-king of folk-lore.<sup>50</sup> There can indeed be no doubt about the fact that *Mysing* is derived from the IE word for 'mouse': Mysing is the exact Teutonic equivalent of *Σμυθεὺς*, the mouse-god of Mysia, familiar to all readers of the *Iliad*.<sup>51</sup> If it is considered that a prosperous kingdom can hardly be destroyed and a golden age brought to naught in a single night, by a hostile invasion from the sea, and if certain Eastern examples of the power of the mouse-god, who was also a god of the plague, are borne in mind, this conclusion will appear plausible enough. Suffice it to recall the story told by Herodotus (II. 141) of how an army of field-mice gnawed the quivers and shield-handles of Sennacherib's invading host, the story of how an army of rats accomplished a similar feat in China,<sup>52</sup> and that of how the 'angel' of the Lord smote in the camp of Sennacherib an hundred four score and five thousand,<sup>53</sup> to say nothing of the opening scene of the *Iliad*. The story told by Snorri is therefore to be interpreted as an epidemic which ruined Froði's realm and brought to an end the golden age associated with his name; the mysterious Mysing is none other than the god of mice and of the plague.

Now it is noteworthy that the cult of Apollon *Σμυθεὺς* flourished especially in the N.W. corner of Asia Minor, to which many of the cult traditions and the 'mouse stories' refer. Archaeology merely confirms this fact. Nor can it be an accident that the first book of the *Iliad* has for its setting this very region.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. L. M. Hollander, *op. cit.*, p. 181, n. 13.

<sup>51</sup> *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXXIII (1936), pp. 40-56.

<sup>52</sup> *Journal asiatique*, I<sup>ère</sup> série, III (1823), p. 307; cf. F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> 2 *Kings*, xix. 35.

## IV

At this juncture another problem presents itself, *viz.*, the chronology of these story migrations. Gustav Neckel, in a well-known work,<sup>54</sup> attempted to account for them through Thracian and Gothic intermediaries in the period immediately preceding the Teutonic migrations. That this epoch was rich in ethnic contacts of the greatest consequence for the civilization of Northern and Central Europe cannot be denied. But it must be said also that the facts just reviewed point to a state of things far anterior to the Christian era.

The story of Athamas and his domestic troubles harks back to the ancient Minyan civilization, which flourished in Northern Greece long before the Trojan War. In the classical period the tradition had already been so badly garbled that it can be reconstructed only by the comparative method. The Scandinavian account is more logical, in many respects, than that of Sophocles, and hence stands closer to the lost original. Thus it is hard to believe that this borrowing can have taken place in historical times.

Again, while it is true that the Egyptian cult of Osiris and Isis and the touching myth which stood in its center flourished and were widely known in Mediterranean countries until the very end of Egyptian Paganism, yet the cult of the pre-Hellenic Myrtilos, the predecessor of the ithyphallic Hermes, was almost forgotten in classical times. Vague recollections lingered on and were transmitted to posterity by scholars such as Strabo and Pausanias; but it is needless to add that the Teutonic invaders had other things in mind than to peruse Greek manuscripts and to listen to the temple legends of sextons as complacently as Pausanias had done in the days of the Antonines. We must remember that Egyptian influences on the culture of the ancient Minyans were very great indeed, as was seen, toward the middle of the last century, by Karl Otfried Müller, and as was pointed out again a few years ago.<sup>55</sup> The ithyphallic Ing may be derived

<sup>54</sup> G. Neckel, *Die Ueberlieferungen vom Gotte Balder*, Dortmund, 1920, *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXX (1933), pp. 228-41.

from the Minyan ithyphallic Hermes (Myrtilos), who in turn had undergone the influence of the Egyptian Osiris cult. It is certain that Ing's rôle as driver in the constellation *Ursa major* is due to prehistoric culture currents reaching the Baltic from the Aegean.

Lastly, the mysterious Mysing is the mouse-god of the Mysians known as Apollon *Σμυθεύς*. Now it is to be remembered that the name of this people, *Mûsioi*, is itself derived from the IE name of the rodent (Gr. *μῦς*, Lat. *mūs*, O.H.G. *mūs*, O.N. *mūs*, M.Pers. *mūs*, Arm. *mukn*, Sk. *mūsh*). The Mysians are an Illyro-Thracian tribe of European origin, which crossed over into Asia in pre-Homeric times. Homer (*Iliad*, XIII. 5) still knows that one of their branches was settled in the Balkans. They are known to have given their name to the Roman province of *Moesia*. But in historical times the mouse-god had vanished in Europe outside the Troad, the islands, and Magna Graecia. His migration to Scandinavia is therefore likely to have taken place at a time when the Mysi were still a powerful Thracian tribe settled in the Balkans or in present-day Hungary, that is, in the second millennium before Christ.

That Thracian intermediaries were responsible for this transfer of Aegean cult legends is virtually certain. Of all peoples of IE speech they alone were in constant contact with the Minyan civilization of Thessaly; their Dionysos cult, which is undoubtedly their most typical creation, is known not only to have spread southward into Greece but to have left clear traces even in Scandinavian tradition.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, VII (1933), pp. 136-45.



## GÓÐ KONA

ERIK WAHLGREN

*University of California, Los Angeles*

IN *Hávamál* there are no less than four examples of the expression *góð kona* or *góð mæ* which require a more sophisticated interpretation. These examples occur in the following passages:<sup>1</sup>

101. Auk nær morni,                   er ek var enn um kominn,  
   þá var saldrótt um sofin:  
grey eitt ek þá fann           innar góðo kono  
   bundit beðiom á.
102. Mörg er góð mæ,               ef görva kannar,  
   hugbrigð við hali:  
þá ek þat reynda,               er it ráðspaka  
   teygða ek á flærðir fljóð;  
háðungar hvernar           leitaði mér it horska man,  
   ok hafða ek þess vetki vífs.
108. Ífi er mér á,                   at ek væra enn kominn  
   iðtna gøðom ór,  
ef ek Gunnlaðar ne nytak,       innar góðo kono,  
   þeirar er lögðomk arm yfir.
130. Ráðomk þér, Loddfáfnir, en þú ráð nemir—  
   nióta mundo, ef þú nemr,  
   þér muno góð, ef þú getr—:  
ef þú vilt þér góða kono       kveðia at gamanrúnom  
   ok fá fögnuð af:  
fögru skaldu heita           ok láta fast vera;  
   leiðiz manngi gott, ef getr.

The first two passages have reference to Óðin's adventure with Billing's daughter, or possibly Billing's wife,<sup>2</sup> the third to

<sup>1</sup> The text cited is that of G. Neckel, *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern. I<sup>a</sup>. Text* (Heidelberg, 1936). I have not departed essentially from Neckel's abbreviations.

<sup>2</sup> The latter is maintained very convincingly by Sigurðr Nordal in his article "Billings mæ" (in *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson* [1936], pp. 288-95; cf. p. 290).

an escapade with Gunnlöð, daughter of the giant Suttung. The fourth example is a bit of apparently ironic advice included in the so-called *Loddfáfnismál*. For the sake of convenience I shall refer to the four passages (more specifically, 101:5, 102:1, 108:5, 130:5) as A, B, C, and D respectively.

Some of the commentators have remarked that irony is implied in one or more of the stanzas. Detter-Heinzel, for example, point out the irony in A, but are silent as to the others.<sup>3</sup> Sijmons-Gering comment on A " . . . natürlich ironisch gemeint."<sup>4</sup> Finnur Jónsson grants that A is "bitter-ironisk," alleges without reasons that B "er vist ikke at opfatte ironisk," interprets C as "ironisk medlidende," and makes no comment on D.<sup>5</sup> Erik Noreen indicates that "På det första stället [i.e., A] ser det snarast ut som om *göðu* vore ironiskt menat."<sup>6</sup> To sum up these opinions: A is ironic; B is not ironic; C is some kind of hybrid; D remains unclassified.

Almost unanimously, the translators have taken *göð* at its face value. The following renderings are typical: "die Holde," "das gute Mädchen," "mein keusches Liebchen," "Gunnlada gütig," "Manche schöne Maid," "statt der herrlichen Maid," "ein gutes Weib," "den ädla, den goda," "trofast viv," "det hulda livet," "mö god," "den goda flickan," "god kvinna," "mø god," "det gode viv," "kvinde god," "a good woman's love," "the maiden good." D. E. M. Clarke's translation "worthy lady" in each case might certainly be construed as ironical, but there is no indication in her critical notes that it was so intended.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> F. Detter and R. Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda nebst einem Anhang. II. Anmerkungen* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 108 (cf. p. 124).

<sup>4</sup> H. Gering, *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda . . . nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von B. Sijmons. Erste Hälfte: Götterlieder* (Halle [Saale], 1937), p. 125. Cf. the remark: "Man hat meist gar nicht beachtet, dass von einem *grey*, d.h. einem hunde weiblichen geschlechts, die rede ist, und infolgedessen den grimmigen hohn . . . den die spröde schöne dem gotte antat, nicht verstanden."

<sup>5</sup> F. Jónsson, *Hávamál* (København, 1924), pp. 103, 104, 111 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> E. Noreen, *Den norsk-isländska poesien* (Stockholm, 1926), p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> D. E. M. Clarke, *The Hávamál . . .* (Cambridge, 1923). The renderings listed above were taken from the German translations by Gering, Simrock, Jordan; the Swedish versions by Åkerblom and Brate; the Norwegian by Gjesing; the English versions by Hollander and Bellows.

There is reason to believe that in each of the four instances, the expression *góð kona* (or *góð mæ*) is a sarcastic appellative. Let us examine the passages in order.

Óðinn, having come upon "Billing's maid" sleeping by daylight, is eager to woo her, but she persuades him to return at nightfall that their tryst may be more secret (*Háv.* 98). The god accordingly hides in the reeds during the day and proceeds under cover of darkness to her abode, only to find the hall ablaze with lighted torches and filled with warriors clad in mail. Returning towards morning, Óðinn finds the household in slumber—but a she-dog is bound to the bed of "that good woman."<sup>8</sup>

Now, we may either assume with Gering and others that the fair one had tied the creature to her bed, or we may accept Sigurðr Nordal's ingenious and probable interpretation of *bundit* as "trollbundit," i.e., held fast by Óðin's sorcery. The maiden, if we accept this hypothesis, outwitted the deity by substituting a dog for her own fair person, and the animal was held captive by virtue of the incantations intended for its mistress.<sup>9</sup> Whichever interpretation we accept, the main factor involved is the substitution of the dog—an insult palpable enough under any circumstances.

Óðin's reaction toward having been tricked by a woman might naturally result in a spiteful epithet such as that we appear to have. The maiden's virtue may indeed have been unassailable—obviously *was* in this instance—so much the greater, then, the cynic's chagrin that she had duped him, so much the more venomous his references to her. In fine, the evidence points to the conclusion that *góð* is intended as an insult, and may not be taken at its face value. So far our conclusions do not deviate from the beaten track.

We turn now to B, which appears to be an embroidery upon the adventures partially related in A. Here we learn that "many a good maid" is "treacherous (or fickle) towards a man." Treachery (or fickleness) is certainly not a by-product of "good-

<sup>8</sup> The insult, to quote Gering, "war natürlich die nicht misszuverstehende zumutung, dass er an dem tier seine brunst büßen möge." See *ZfdPh*, XXXIV (1902), 134, where he cites examples of similar insults elsewhere; cf. note 4 above.

<sup>9</sup> See the article in *Bidrag* cited in note 2 above; cf. especially pp. 291-95.

ness" as ordinarily understood. Craft and cunning, moreover, are emphasized in this passage—virtues which supplement treachery (or fickleness) to a striking degree.<sup>10</sup> Óðinn woos Billing's maid<sup>11</sup> but is met with scorn. The author of his humiliations is designated not alone as "fickle" or "treacherous," but also as "góð." *Góð*, furthermore, is a repetition of the epithet referring to the same woman in the stanza immediately preceding. Are we not justified in drawing the conclusion that this repetition is ironic?

In C, Óðinn looks back upon an episode which came near to costing him his life. By winning the daughter of the giant Suttung, he has not only saved his own skin but likewise secured the precious poet's mead: verily three benefits for the price of one. Poor Gunnlóð is described with a repetition of the phrase which is so unmistakable in A: "that good woman." The intention is ironic.

The reader of *Hávamál* may be willing to accept my interpretation of A and B without finding irony in C and D. In C, he may point out, the trusting Gunnlóð is deceived by the cynical

<sup>10</sup> See the standard dictionaries by Finnur Jónsson, Gering, and Fritzner. The last-named makes *horskr* in this passage mean "venlig, kjærlig, om Kvinde . . . hvor der er Tale om, at hun optræder med *blíðleikr*, *blíðskapr*, eller at en Mand venter sig, at hun vil gjøre det" (*Ordbog*, II<sup>2</sup>, 45). Among the lexicographers he is alone in this definition (see however A. M. Sturtevant, *PubSASS* (SSN), I (1913), 157-64, in which he treats this word in another connection, and on the basis of the context and association with such words as *hugbrigð*, *ráðspaka*, *háðungar*, one may at least question this rendering). Craft and cunning seem more in order than a loving disposition. I have not overlooked another possibility: *horskr*(r), like *góð*, may be ironic. This word is of particular interest, and further investigation might well be in order. Pertinent Eddic passages are *Háv.* 91, 96, 102; *Hárð.* 18; *Áltn.* 3, 10, 35; *Grip.* 31; *Rtg.* 39. See further s.v. *horskligr*, *horskligr*.

<sup>11</sup> Or perhaps Billing's wife? See particularly Nordal's assertions as above. Reference to the standard dictionaries reveals that all four of the words used for woman in this stanza (*mær*, *fljóð*, *man*, *vif*) may be applied to a married woman. One notes that F. Jónsson, however, even in his latest edition, has neglected to cite *Háv.* 102 as an example of the occurrence of *fljóð*. Fritzner has a somewhat arbitrary definition of *man* as it occurs in this passage: "(3) Kvinde, særligen i hendes Kjønnsforhold til en Mand, forsaavidt som hun er Gjenstand for hans Tilbøjelighed, Kjærlighed eller vellystige Begjæring, vil eller skal fremkalde den."

Óðinn, probably after he has promised to marry her. Such a view (that a promise of marriage was made) accords with the evidence. But if the god has tricked the giant's daughter, this fact should strengthen, rather than weaken, the indications that he is speaking contemptuously of her in this subsequent reference. The giants, it may be remembered, are typically depicted in the older Scandinavian literature as clumsy and stupid, and outwitting them in any manner whatsoever is a perfectly legitimate amusement. I can see no evidence of "den tydligt förnimbara ånger, som Oden hyser över sitt beteende."<sup>12</sup> In fact, this suggestion of repentance must largely be based upon an interpretation of the very phrase—*góð kona*—which we are calling into question; it cannot be accepted without definite evidence. The point at issue here is not Gunnlǫð's virtue, but rather Óðin's intention in speaking of her. Mockery would be entirely in keeping with the traditional literary villain's attitude toward his victim. There is, as far as one can discover, no cogent reason for assuming repentance on Óðin's part; on the other hand, an ironic intention in *góð* not only satisfies our expectations, but is a satisfactory bit of literary technique as well.

Certain it is, at any rate, that Óðinn had his way with Gunnlǫð, and that he thereupon deserted her. He reflects on the incident with equanimity in stanza 105:

ill iðgiöld            lét ek hana eptir hafa  
                               síns ins heila hugar,  
                               síns ins svára sefa.

The question is whether this reference to the maiden's (or giantess') ill reward is to be taken as a mark of repentance. Examined by itself, it is capable of such interpretation. But now compare it with the god's boast two stanzas later, in 107:

Vel keypts litar            hefi ek vel notit,  
                               fás er fróðom vant;

In light of this, does not the observation in stanza 105 rather point to Óðin's callousness as regards Gunnlǫð? A contrary interpretation would imply a lack of consistency in an otherwise well

<sup>12</sup> Åkerblom, *Den äldre Eddan*. I, 54.

co-ordinated story. This is not the only instance of Óðin's wiles in matters of love, and he has adopted a light attitude toward what happened. To conclude, it is in keeping with the tone of the narrative to see in *góð* another instance of irony, implying, in this case, not merely complaisance, but stupidity.

In D, the making of promises is recommended. *Gamanrúnar* seem to be on the one hand "fornøjelige samtaler med mænd eller kvinder," "freundschafts- od. liebesverhältnis";<sup>13</sup> and on the other "ein heimliches liebesverhältnis" with an implication of the unseemly. The latter signification seems to be preferred for *Háv.* 130, I believe correctly.<sup>14</sup> The implications of *fagnuð* should lend a certain weight to this interpretation. "Pleasure" is the sole ostensible end and aim of the promising, and this pleasure is probably of a sexual nature—the earnestness of the vows would seem to speak for unusual benefits to be expected. This is the basis for maintaining that *góð* is employed with ironic intent in D as well as in the three preceding stanzas.

It may be objected that *líta fast vera* "let [it, i.e., the promise] be firm" nullifies any cynical or ironic implication. Such an objection need not apply. The emphasis in this passage—one well in keeping with the tenor of the accompanying verses—is on expediency. If adherence to a promise until one has reaped the harvest will serve one's ends, then by all means let the promise be "firm." One finds here no exhortation in the interests of abstract morality, no hint that a promise is of importance in itself.

The use of *góða kono* in D would not seem entirely to match either the savage sarcasm of its parallels in A and B or the retrospective mockery evident in C. "Worthy dame" might be the most appropriate rendering, considering the phrase solely in the light of the context. That we may not be accused of preconceptions, let us grant for a moment that *góða* connotes virtue. The sense is then substantially: "If you wish to have pleasure of a good woman, make fair promises and keep them." The meaning is here again ironic.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jónsson, *Lexicon* . . . (1931); Gering, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch* . . . (1903).

<sup>14</sup> Sijmons-Gering, I, 138, have a note on *gamanrúnar* appearing in *Háv.* 120; cf. Dettler-Heinzel, pp. 129 f.

<sup>15</sup> Can *fegro* . . . *heita* have reference to betrothal vows? There is the further

*Góð*, however, must be examined in connection with other prominent words in the context, such as *fögnuð* and *gamanrúnar*. The former, a general term for "pleasure," lends itself to any interpretation. The latter, as indicated above, may denote merely "pleasure," or it may have a specific connotation. The preference of the lexicographers for construing our passage in the latter sense need not be arbitrary or constructed to fit the text. Simple *gaman*, in keeping with Finnur Jónsson's second definition: "særlig bruges om elskovsglæde, den (rent) kødelige vellyst," appears a number of times, either alone or in the phrase *gøð ok gaman*, and we have one example of *ofgaman*, "for megen elskov" (*Sigdr.* 32).

Notice also the expression *kveðia at gamanrúnom*. In other places the verb *teygja* "entice" plays a similar rôle. In this connection one will be led to investigate the magic spells and devices (*viz.*, *gambanteinn*, *Sktrn.* 32, *Hárð.* 20) used by the wily Óðinn. These points are interesting and perhaps even pertinent, but their examination would divert us from the main path of the investigation.<sup>16</sup>

It should by now be reasonable enough to maintain that the expression *góð kona* (*góð mæ*) in the four stanzas we have examined reflects the various aspects of an ironic purpose. We are not in a position to claim consistency for *Hávamál* as regards either genesis or execution, and I have not overlooked the traditional division of the poem into several parts, a procedure which locates A and B in one section, C in a second, and D in a third. This fact

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possibility that *kona* signifies a female of wedded estate. Cf. above, note 11; also Snorre's *Edda*: *vif ok bróðr ok fjöð heita þær konur, er manne eru gefnar* (*Edda Snorra Sturlusonar . . .* ved Finnur Jónsson [Køb., 1931], p. 189). Most probably the meaning is simply "woman," without reference to status. Such indifference would scarcely minimize the good-natured contempt conveyed by *góð* (cf. Fritzner's third definition of *kona*: "Kvinde som ikke længere er mæ eller jungfru men har spilt sinum meydomi").

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Nordal, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, pp. 288-95; Sturtevant, *PubSASS (SSN)*, I (1913), 157-64. The passages are: *Háv.* 99, 102, 114, 115, 120, 130, 151, 155, 161, 162; *Vafþ.* 32; *Svip.* 43; *Sktr.* 39, 41; *Sigdr.* 5, 28, 32; *Akv.* 12; *HH.* 34, 44. The dictionaries cite other, non-Eddic examples. Cf. *augna-gaman*, *svefngaman*, and a goodly list of words with *gaman* as the first element.

need not upset the theory of irony. Assuming that these portions were composed independently, even at different periods: that, *ceteris paribus*, serves rather to strengthen the view that *góðr*, at least in the feminine form, was considered appropriate as an ironical expression in the older speech. We cannot argue from a lack of knowledge; but a careful examination, with an eye to general matters of style, of the prose and poetic literature of Norway and Iceland might cast incidental light upon the question.<sup>17</sup> We note further that almost a score of verses in the *Hávamál* expatiate more or less unflatteringly upon the weaker sex.<sup>18</sup> That woman is wise in deceit, untruthful, lightminded, possessed of magic powers, would by no means preclude the existence of excellent women, or referring to them as "good." It follows

<sup>17</sup> Fritzner, for example, s.v. *góðr*, cites three doubtful examples. In this connection it is worth-while to remark three Eddic passages dealing with a *góð kona*, each interesting for a different reason. (a) In *Grógaldur* 1: 2 the phrase occurs, without warrant for construing the expression to the woman's disadvantage. On the contrary, the epithet is applied by the hero to his deceased mother Gróa, as he calls upon her for assistance. It is pertinent to observe that Gróa is a witch. (b) In *Skírnismál* the messenger Skírnir seeks to force his way to the maiden Gerðr, whose barred refuge is reinforced with fierce dogs. Inquiring as to the prospects of access to the maiden, he is thus answered by a shepherd (presumably but not explicitly in the maiden's employ), 12: 4-6: '... *annsþillis vanr / þú skalt æ vera / góðrar meyar Gymis!*' (Notice *greyiom* in the preceding stanza, where it probably means simply "hounds," however). How is "good maid" to be construed in the mouth of the herdsman-spectator? In *Lokasenna* 42, "Gymir's daughter" is represented as having been "bought for gold." (c) In *Gripisspá* there is a treatment of the Sigurðr-Brynhildr-Gunnarr legend. Sigurðr speaks, 42:1-8: '*Mun góða kvón Gunnarr eiga / . . . / þóat hafi þráðr natr / þegn bráðr hið mér, / snarlynd, sofit? / slíks eroti dæmil!*' I am unable to decide what *góða kvón* is supposed to convey here. In *Þiðriks saga* it is plain that Sigurðr wins Brynhildr (cf. H. Bertelsen, *Þiðriks saga af Bern*, II (Samf. til udgivelse af gammel nord. Litt., XXXIV [1905-11], 42). A similar version is found in the second stanza of *Brot*. The events of the *Nibelungenlied*, one remembers, presuppose the same situation. It is not important to know whether the "original" Brynhildr yielded or maintained her virtue and hence whether a given bit of tradition is ancient and genuine. It is pertinent, however, to note any details that might cast light on uses of the phrase we are investigating. Further discussion of the sources and the extended commentary on this situation would be too lengthy.

<sup>18</sup> *Vís.*, 81, 84, 86, 87, 90, 92, 96-102, 1-8, 113-14, 118, 120, 130. Cf. stanzas 79, 82, 92, 131, which are doubtful.



in fact that in the majority of instances *góð(r)* will signify *bona fide* merit or virtue. The ironic sense of the present examples none the less aptly fits the context.

It is not surprising that precisely the concept "moral excellence" should lend itself to parody in any tongue. Icelandic or Norwegian *góðr* and English *good*, in actuality, embody substantially the same ideas, so that one need not do violence to either language in the interest of the assertions maintained above. With reference to modern Icelandic usage, Sigfús Blöndal's statement is particularly to the point: *góður* is often used ironically "om n-t för omtalt . . . spec. naar dette har været af den Art, at man tænker paa det med en vis Ærgelse . . ." <sup>19</sup> The ironic use of *good* is paralleled in other languages. Olof Östergren finds Swedish *god* to be "ofta nedlåtande, ibl. ironiskt l. tillrättavisande." <sup>20</sup> Grimm cites many examples of *gut* appearing in this sense. <sup>21</sup> Adverting to classical usage, we find that Latin *bonus* was apparently in favor as an ironic appellative in the writings of Cicero, Horace, and the comic authors Plautus and Terence. <sup>22</sup> Our own English, literary and colloquial, abounds in such usage: "Say, my good fellow"; "Take this, my good man!"; "You're a good one!"; "Say, this is good!" Further examples would not abet the issue.

Until further facts are brought to light, the writer humbly submits to have motivated an ironic interpretation for the word *góð* in *Hávamál* 101, 102, 108, 130.

<sup>19</sup> S. Blöndal, *Islandsk Dansk Ordbog* (1920-24), p. 263, s.v. *góður*.

<sup>20</sup> O. Östergren, *Nusvensk ordbok*, II, F-G (1926), col. 1238 s.v. *God*, where he cites among others the expressions "gode mamsell," "gott folk," "min goda man."

<sup>21</sup> Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV. Bd. I. Abt. 6-Teil (1935), s.v. *Gut*, adj.: cf. sections II B 1 (col. 1266); V B 4 (col. 1309-10); V C (col. 1311-12).

<sup>22</sup> Georges, *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*, I<sup>a</sup> (1913), col. 851 s.v. *bonus*; cf. *bone vir* "sauberer Bursche."

A NOTE ON THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT  
OF OLD NORSE *FRÍA*: *FRJÁ* < GOTHIC  
*FRIJŌN* 'TO LOVE'

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT  
*University of Kansas*

GOTH. *frijōn* translates Grk. ἀγαπᾶν, φιλεῖν 'to love, be friendly, kindly disposed towards.' We may assume that the meaning of Goth. *frijōn* represents the original sense of the corresponding verb in North and West Gic.; compare, e.g., the OS *Hēliand* (1451) where *friohon* is used with reference to 'love' for one's neighbors:

(that man is nāhiston      niudlīco skal)  
.....  
*friohon is friundo gihuena*

corresponding to Goth. *frijōs nēhwundjan þeinana* (ἀγαπάσεις τὸν πλησίον σου), Mt. v. 43.

The verb (Goth. *frijōn*) was on its way to extinction in WGic., and in ON it was entirely extinct except in poetry. Aside from the present participial substantive (*frændi* 'relative, kinsman' = Goth. *frijōnd-s*), which persisted in all the Gic. languages, the ON verb *frīa* (*frjá*) occurs only three times; twice in the *Elder Edda*<sup>1</sup> (*Sg.* 9, 2; *Hǫv.* 92, 4) and once in a collection of proverbs preserved in the *Codex Regius* (*Málsh. kv.* 5, 3). In all three occurrences the verb *frīa* (*frjá*) has evidently entirely lost its original sense of 'to be kindly disposed to, love' (= Goth. *frijōn*) and acquired a secondary sense of 'to show one's love, be affectionate, coddle, pet,' etc. This sense was already present in the Goth. verbal substantive [*ga-*] *frijōns* 'a kiss,' a loan translation from the Grk. φιλημα (cf. φιλεῖν: *frijōn*), for which a semantic parallel is furnished by OE *lufian* 'to love' > 'feel affection for, show love to' (cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Angs. Dict.*).

<sup>1</sup> Citations are from Gering's fourth edition. The occurrence of the form *fria* in *Ls.* 19, 4(R)—*ok hann fjiorg ǫll fria*—is obviously due to a scribal error for *fiar*; see Kölbing, *Germ. XXI*, p. 27.

I. *Sigurðarkviða en skamma* 9, 2

*konungr enn hunski kvæn fría sína.* "The Hunnish king (Sigurth) to fondle, caress his wife." A line has been omitted directly before this passage, but from the preceding stanza:

*es þau Guðrún                      ganga á beð  
auk hana Sigurðr                sveipr í ripti*

it is clear that the verb *fría* here has reference to the expression of Sigurth's sexual love in the conjugal bed. *Fría* is here translated by Neckel (*Glossar*) as 'lieblosen,' by Gering (*Glossar*) as 'lieben, lieblosen.'

II. *Hávamál* 92, 4

*sá fær es friar.* "He gets her, who makes love to her." *Friar* in this passage is translated by Gering (*Glossar*) as 'schmeicheln, sich liebenswürdig machen,' by Neckel (*Glossar*) as 'schmeicheln.'

Othin is here (92) speaking of courtship; how one is to win a maiden's love. He mentions three ways for attaining this end: viz., (1) "speak beautiful words to her" (*fagrt skal mála*); (2) "offer her presents" (*fé bjóðaða*); and (3) "praise her beauty" (*liti leyfa ens ljósa mans*). So far as these three injunctions have any bearing upon the interpretation of the verb *friar* in this passage, they seem to support my hypothesis that *friar* here has the general sense of 'make love, *Hof* machen, schön tun.' The connotation of 'flattery' is no doubt present, but to translate *friar* here by 'schmeicheln' seems unwarranted since there is no evidence that this connotation predominated.

III. *Málshátta kvæði* 5, 3

*Annars barn er sem úlf at frjá.* "To coddle (fondle, pet) another's child is like coddling a wolf." There can be no question of sexual love here as in the two previous passages.

## Conclusions

The restriction in sense of ON *fría* (*frjá*) from the fundamental idea of 'to be kindly disposed towards, love' (= Goth. *frijōn*) to 'show one's love, affection' may be in part due to the

influence of the verb *unna* 'to grant favor' > 'to love'<sup>2</sup> (cf. *øst*, 'love'). *Unna* acquired the sense of 'to love' as the result of 'favor, good-will,' with which the idea of sex was in no wise connected. Since *fría* (*frjá*) had lost this sense of 'good-will' (Goth. *frijōn*) and had acquired a sexual connotation, the two verbs, *fría* (*frjá*) and *unna*, finally became clearly differentiated as to the sense of 'love' (i.e., sexual and non-sexual). But as soon as *unna*<sup>3</sup> had displaced *fría* (*frjá*), the sense of sexual love present in *fría* (*frjá*) was transferred to *unna*.<sup>4</sup>

The semantic development of *fría* (*frjá*) may be summarized as follows: 'To be kindly disposed towards, love' (moral and abstract = Goth. *frijōn*) > 'to show one's love, affection' (*Málsh. kv.* 5, 3 'coddle, pet') > with sexual connotation (*Sg.* 9, 2 'fondle, caress'; *Hǫv.* 92, 4 'make love to, court') enhanced by the fact that the verb *unna* 'to love' expressed the moral and abstract notion of 'love,' reducing *fría* (*frjá*) to the sexual connotation.

<sup>2</sup> With *unna* (Germ. *gönnen*) 'grant, bestow one's favor' > 'to love' compare Germ. *er-lauben* 'allow, grant': OE *lufian*, Germ. *lieben* 'to love' (\**laub-*: \**leub-*).

<sup>3</sup> The verb *elska* 'to love' is of much later origin and therefore is not concerned in this discussion.

<sup>4</sup> With *unna*:*fría* (*frjá*) compare NHG *lieben*:MHG *minnen*. The verb *lieben* in MHG meant 'to be pleasing to,' but in the NHG period it acquired the erotic sense of MHG *minnen*, which it had displaced.

## REVIEW

*Eddic Lays*. Selected and Edited by Frederic T. Wood, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Virginia, 1940. Pp. iii+227.

Prof. Wood divides his book as follows: (I) *Foreword* (iii); (II) *Introduction* (1-13); (III) *Manuscripts, Editions and Other Bibliographical Aids* (14-16); (IV) *Text* (17-140); (V) *Glossary* (141-227).

I. In the *Foreword* the author states the main purpose of his work: "Since the best editions of the *Edda* have come from the hands of German scholars, the American student too often finds it necessary to make a double translation, first from Icelandic into German and then into his native tongue. To obviate this difficulty is one of the purposes of the present volume."

It is difficult to see how by using a German edition of the *Elder Edda* an American student ever "finds it necessary to make a double translation." The German editions are not provided with a translation of the text, and the German glossary is translated from the Icelandic by the German editor, not by the student. If an American student uses a German edition he perhaps finds it necessary to translate the words in the German glossary into English. Prof. Wood's English *Glossary* obviates this "difficulty"—which I should rather term "inconvenience," since for a graduate student in Germanics it ought not to be difficult to understand the meaning of the German words.

II. The *Introduction* is a model of presentation and represents the best piece of work in the whole book. It presents a brief and clear history of the Eddic lays, stressing their mythological, historical, and cultural value, and including many helpful details necessary for the student's knowledge and appreciation of ON poetry.

III. The list of *Manuscripts, Editions and Other Bibliographical Aids* is restricted to the most important references. But I miss a reference to Neckel's *Glossar*<sup>2</sup> (Heidelberg, 1936) which from a semantic viewpoint is far more valuable than is Gering's *Glossar* listed by the author.

IV. The *Text* is restricted to the following lays (including the

two prose versions *Frá Dauða Sinfjella*, *Dráp Niflunga*): *Prymskviða*, *Baldur Draumar*, *Skírnismál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Lokasenna*, *Völundarkviða*, *Hávamál* (1–77), *Völuspá*, *Völsungakviða* (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*), *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar* (31–43), *Reginmál*, *Fáfnismál*, *Sigrdrífomál* (1–4), *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu*, *Guðrúnarkviða I*, *Sigurðarkviða in skamma*, *Helreið Brynhildar*, *Atlakviða*.

The reason for this restriction is stated in the *Foreword*: "The poems selected for inclusion have been chosen for their literary merit as well as for their value as monuments of Scandinavian mythological and legendary lore. For it must be admitted that literary excellence cannot by any means be claimed for all the poems in the *Edda*."

Prof. Wood's selection of the poems for *inclusion* fully justifies this statement. But scholars may differ as to the advisability of *omitting* certain lays. Since this question is largely subjective, Prof. Wood could have forestalled criticism if he had given his own reasons<sup>1</sup> for omitting certain lays whose merit is universally recognized; e.g., the "*Billingsmæ* episode" in the *Hávamál* (containing the famous myth of *Óðrøfir*), or the *Rígspula* (with its important information regarding social and cultural values), etc.

Variant textual readings have been reduced to a minimum—a praiseworthy feature. In *Skírnismál* 19, 1 (p. 27) (*Epli ellifo hér hefi ek algullin*) the author has failed to record Grundtvig's excellent emendation (*Sæm. Edda*,<sup>2</sup> 202<sup>b</sup>) of *ellifo* to *ellelyf* 'heilmittel gegen das alter' = 'verjüngung,' for which convincing arguments have been advanced (cf. Magnus Olsen, *Festskrift til A. Torp*, [1913], 115 ff.; Bj. M. Ólsen, *Ark.*, 33, 13; Axel Åkerblom, *Ark.*, 36, 47 ff.).

V. The Value of the *Glossary* is enhanced by the inclusion of cognates from (chiefly) Old English and Gothic. If an English word is cognate in meaning as well as in form, it is printed with heavy type in the definition—a helpful device for American students.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wood informs me that such omissions are due to pedagogical reasons. The book is intended for use by students in the third term of a year's course in Old Icelandic, and therefore the editor did not feel it advisable to extend the text beyond its present limits.

In listing a word which occurs in various inflectional forms the author is sometimes inconsistent. Sometimes he lists such a word twice (cf. *maðr* 188, *meðr* nom. pl. 189) and sometimes only once (cf. *hjalt:hjolt* 174—the author writes here “Pl. *hjolt HILT*,” as if the form *hjolt* represented all the cases of the plural). Listing a word under various headings is not advisable except where the various inflectional forms of the word are so irregular, or so different from one another, that a separate listing seems necessary (cf. *beðvi* 151, *beðr* 152).

Many other inconsistencies occur, but I shall here call attention to only the most disturbing ones.

(1) The acute accent is regularly employed to denote a long vowel, yet in the case of certain capital vowels the sign<sup>2</sup> over the vowel is used to denote its length (cf. *Āsabragr*, *Āsgarðr* 145; *Imr* 180; *Isungr*, *Ivaldi* 181; in the title heading of the lays *HĀVAMĀL* 68, *SKĪRNISMĀL* 25, etc.). In this connection I note that the river name *Ífing* (180) is given with short initial *I*. But it is far more likely that the initial *I* here was long (cf. Finnur Jónsson, *Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>, sub *Ífing*; Sijmons-Gering, *Kommentar* I, 166, *Íf* = *Eiben*). At any rate, Prof. Wood should have called attention to the fact that the length of the vowel *I* is doubtful.

(2) In the explanatory paragraph to his *Glossary* (141) the author states: “The preterite singular indicative (first person) of strong verbs is put in parentheses: the same form of weak verbs is given only where the stem vowel differs from that of the infinitive.” But compare: (163) *fyr muna* (-*munða*), similarly (191) *muna* (*munða*); (183) *knátto* (*knátta*), (184) *kunna* (*kunna*), (214) *unna* (*unna*), (225) *þurfa* (*þurfta*), (221) *vita* (*vissa*).

It is difficult to check up on the correctness of the definitions of the Old Icelandic words because no references are given in the *Glossary* to the passages in the *Text* where the Old Icelandic word in question occurs. Prof. Wood could have enhanced the practical value of his *Glossary* if he had followed the example of

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wood informs me that this inconsistency is due to the fact that the Waverly Press of Baltimore could not supply the characters in question (namely *Ā* and *Ī*) nor the heavy type for *Q* (cf. *Ölrun*, 226). The author was not informed in regard to this until it was too late to mention the matter in his *Foreword*.

German editors in this respect by co-ordinating the *Glossary* with the *Text*. Otherwise the student will often be at a loss to know which one of the various meanings of a word recorded in the *Glossary* applies to this word as it occurs in the *Text*.

As to *etymologies*. From a pedagogical point of view references to doubtful etymologies are superfluous. Very few students will ever pay any attention to them. On the other hand, by listing doubtful etymologies the author opens himself to criticism, especially since he has given no references to authoritative opinions for or against the etymology in question. But since Prof. Wood has apparently felt it necessary to list certain doubtful etymologies the best he can do is to substitute a question mark for the word "prob."

The book is remarkably free of misprints. I have noted only the following: *Isungs* for *Ísungs* (147); (Go. pres.) *taug* for *daug* (153); *af. ríki* for *af ríki* (199).

Prof. Wood's *Eddic Lays* is a welcome innovation for American students of the *Elder Edda* in spite of the fact that certain important lays are omitted. The English *Glossary* (especially valuable because of the Germanic cognates), the wise restriction of textual readings, and the author's clear presentation of the *Introduction* represent the chief advantages for the American student. Prof. Wood has fulfilled the main purpose of his book. It is to be hoped, however, that in a second edition some of the shortcomings pointed out in this review will be remedied.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT  
*University of Kansas*



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## SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCES IN THE WRITINGS OF THOREAU

### PART I

#### THOREAU'S INTEREST IN SWEDISH SCIENTISTS

ADOLPH B. BENSON

*Yale University*

**B**IOGRAPHERS of Henry David Thoreau have hitherto said little or nothing about his numerous references to or quotations from the writings of Swedish naturalists. Obviously, they either have been overlooked or considered of relative unimportance. But after a perusal of Thoreau's works and the collecting and study of some twenty-odd pages of notes and citations on the relations between the American author and the Swedes, the writer is convinced that in the history of the literary relations between Sweden and America the matter deserves some special emphasis and treatment.

Thoreau knew the writings of at least five Swedish authors, who were or had been scientists: the well-known Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), later more famous as a theologian and mystic; Linnæus (1707-1778), the noted inventor of the so-called binomial nomenclature in the classification of plants and animals; Peter Kalm (1716-1779), pupil of Linnæus and professor of natural sciences at Åbo, Finland; Isac J. Biberg, another, less prominent, pupil of Linnæus, whose scientific work had been edited by his noted master; and Elias Magnus Fries (1794-1878), botanist, after whom the *Freesia* plant is named. Of these the most important, to Thoreau, were, quite naturally, Kalm and Linnæus. Time and again he quoted from the records of these scholars and commented upon their observations or conclusions. He had full faith in the honest, unemotional diary-jottings and descriptions by Kalm, and in Linnæus he found not only a

botanist of pioneering international renown but a real lover of nature. The latter especially appealed to the poetic, aesthetic, and quasi-scientific philosopher Thoreau. The Swedish naturalist Linnæus became a guiding master to the New England hermit.

And Thoreau, in a general way, readily acknowledged his source material and indebtedness. He did not give all the details, for, after all, he was not writing any strictly scientific thesis that required footnotes and other editorial and academic impedimenta, but he did give in each case either the author or editor of his printed source or the name of the publication used, and occasionally both. Ordinarily, for instance, he simply mentions Kalm or Linnæus as his authority and then proceeds, as though the name of either one were a common household word with everybody. Apparently Thoreau knew several works of Linnæus, most of which he read in Latin. He refers particularly, however, to Linnæus's *Lapland Journey* (translated by J. E. Smith, 1811) and the *Flora Lapponica*, 1737; to *Philosophia Botanica*, 1751; to [Isac] J. Biberg's *Amœnitates Botanicae*, which had been edited by Linnæus; and to Trapp's translation of D. H. Stoecker's *The Life of Sir Charles Linnæus*, 1794. As for Kalm, Thoreau once at least definitely specifies his *Travels in North America* as a source, and an investigation proves that all Kalm quotations are from that work, which he must have read in J. R. Forster's translation of 1770-1771.—It is one purpose of this paper to supply the bibliographical particulars. First about Kalm.

Since Peter (Pehr) Kalm had spent about two and a half years—from September 1748 to February 1751—in the American Colonies and Canada and had written three very conscientious and valuable volumes on his findings,<sup>1</sup> Thoreau took special interest in the Swede's multifarious observations, and when in the fall of 1850 the American started off for Canada, he apparently brought along a copy of Kalm's *Travels* for comparison. He writes, for example:

The Swedish traveler and naturalist Kalm, who described the [St. Lawrence] River in 1749 says, 'It [the country on both sides] could really be called a village,

<sup>1</sup> *En Resa til Norra America*, Stockholm, I-III, 1753-1761, later translated, either wholly or in part, into German, Dutch, French, and English. The first volume dealt wholly with observations en route, in Norway and England.

beginning at Montreal and ending at Quebec, which is a distance of more than one hundred and eighty miles; for the farmhouses are never above five arpents, and sometimes but three asunder, a few places excepted.<sup>2</sup>

When Thoreau arrives in Quebec, he quotes the Swedish scientist again:

Kalm, a hundred years ago, saw sledges here for ladies to ride in, drawn by a pair of dogs. He says, 'A middle-sized dog is sufficient to draw a single person, when the roads are good,' and he was told by old people that horses were very scarce in their youth, and almost all the land-carriage was then effected by dogs.<sup>3</sup>

When the poet beholds the waterfall near Montmorency, he thinks of the Swedish traveler. Thus Thoreau:

Kalm says that the noise of the [Montmorency] fall is sometimes heard at Quebec, about eight miles [about two French miles] distant, and is a sign of a northeast wind.<sup>4</sup>

Like Kalm, Thoreau was interested in the history and influence of the American Red Man and, particularly perhaps, in the French imitations of Indian customs. Again the American quotes the Swedish observer:

Kalm said, 'Though many nations imitate the French customs, yet I observed, on the contrary, that the French in Canada, in many respects, follow the customs of the Indians, with whom they converse every day. They make use of the tobacco-pipes, shoes, garters, and girdles of the Indians. They follow the Indian way of making war with exactness; they mix the same things with tobacco [he might have said that both French and English learned the use of this weed of the Indian]; they make use of the Indian bark-boats, and row them in the Indian way; they wrap square pieces of cloth round their feet instead of stockings; and have adopted many other Indian fashions.'<sup>5</sup> Thus while the descendants of the Pilgrims are teaching the English to make pegged boots, the descendants of the French in Canada are wearing the Indian moccasin still.<sup>6</sup>

Later Kalm is quoted on the marine plants near Quebec.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1906. Vol. V, p. 21. All references are to this edition. See also Diary of Peter Kalm for August 2, 1749, in *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, edited by Adolph B. Benson, New York, 1937, II, 416. All references to Kalm's *Travels* are to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Writings*, V, 30; Kalm's Diary of August 23, 1749; *Travels*, II, 475-476.

<sup>4</sup> *Writings*, V, 39; Diary of September 7, 1749; *Travels*, II, 498.

<sup>5</sup> Kalm's Diary of September 12, 1749; *Travels*, II, 511.

<sup>6</sup> *Writings*, V, 65-66.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

In this connection it might be well to mention that in recording his own observations on Cape Cod, from visits in 1849, 1850, 1852, and 1855, Thoreau, once more, in describing the beach grass on the Cape, supplements his report by a comment about it from Kalm:

I was pleased to learn afterward, from Kalm's Travels in North America, that the inhabitants of Lower St. Lawrence call this grass (*Calamagrostis arenaria*), and also sea lyme grass (*Elymus arenarius*), *seigle de mer*; and he [Kalm] adds, 'I have been assured that the plants grow in great plenty in Newfoundland, and on other North American shores; the places covered with them looking, at a distance, like corn-fields; which might explain the passage in our northern accounts of the excellent wine land [*Vinland det goda*], which mentions that they [the Northmen] had found whole fields of wheat growing wild.'<sup>8</sup>

Thoreau's interest in the Northmen, incidentally, will be discussed in Part II.

Thoreau, like a loyal Rousseauian, would probably, on sea, have preferred to follow the observations and orders of an old untutored but experienced sailor, who was believed to be intimately close to nature, so to speak, rather than the more scientific deductions of a much-schooled official navigator. At all events, once again, without any special provocation, he borrows and reprints a tale told by his Swedish narrator:

Kalm repeats a story which was told him in Philadelphia by a Mr. [Peter] Cock, who was one day sailing to the West Indies in a small yacht, with an old man on board who was well acquainted with those seas. The old man sounding the depth, called to the mate to tell Mr. Cock to launch the boats immediately, and to put a sufficient number of men into them, in order to tow the yacht during the calm, that they might reach the island before them as soon as possible, as within twenty-four hours there would be a strong hurricane. Mr. Cock asked him what reasons he had to think so; the old man replied, that on sounding, he saw the lead in the water at a distance of many fathoms more than he had seen it before; that therefore the water was become clear all of a sudden, which he looked upon as a certain sign of an impending hurricane in the sea. The sequel of the story is that by good fortune, and by dint of rowing, they managed to gain a safe harbor before the hurricane had reached its height; but it finally raged with so much violence, that not only many ships were lost and many houses unroofed, but even their own vessel in harbor was washed so far on shore that several weeks elapsed before it could be got off.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Writings*, IV, 201; Kalm's Diary of September 1, 1749; and cf. *Travels*, II, 488.

<sup>9</sup> *Writings*, IV, 126-127; Diary of November 15, 1748; *Travels*, I, 171-172.

At another time, under the date of September 5, 1851, Thoreau makes the following entry in his journal:

It is remarkable that Kalm says in 1748 (being in Philadelphia): 'Coals have not yet been found in Pennsylvania; but people pretend to have seen them higher up in the country among the natives. Many people however agree that they are met with in great quantity more to the North, near Cape Breton.'<sup>10</sup>

These illustrations suffice to show that Thoreau was well acquainted with Kalm's *Travels*. We may assume, too, from the general background and character of the quotations that he had confidence in the reliability of the Swedish source, and that with but little subjective comment he frequently consulted it, printing excerpts from it in his own writings. At times Kalm's diary must have served Thoreau, in a small way at least, as a scientific—geographical, botanical, geological, zoological, archeological, and anthropological—guidebook for eastern North America.

But, as already implied, it was Linnæus in particular to whom Thoreau looked up with enthusiastic reverence and scientific respect.

If you would read books on botany, says Thoreau, go to the fathers of the science. Read Linnæus at once, and come down from him as far as you please. I lost much time reading the florists. It is remarkable how little the mass of those interested in botany are acquainted with Linnæus. His 'Philosophia Botanica,' which Rousseau, Sprengel, and others praised so highly,—I doubt if it has ever been translated into English.<sup>11</sup> It is simpler, more easy to understand, and more comprehensible, than any of the hundred manuals to which it has given birth. A few pages of cuts representing the different parts of plants, with the botanical names attached, is worth whole volumes of explanation.

He then proceeds with a touch of humor:

According to Linnæus's classification I come under the head of the *Miscellaneous Botanophilists*,—'Botanophili sunt, qui varia de vegetalibus tradiderunt, licet ea

<sup>10</sup> *Journal*, edited by Bradford Torrey, II, 1906, p. 463; Diary of September 20, 1748. Cf. *Travels*, I, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Here Thoreau evidently overlooked a bit of information found in Stoever's biography of Linnæus, which he often consulted. *Philosophia Botanica* had appeared in English in Hugh Rose's *Elements of Botany*, London, 1775. See Stoever's *The Life of Sir Charles Linnæus*, p. 357. The present writer has checked the information in Rose's work.

non proprie de scientiam Botanicam spectant,'—either one of the Biologi (Panegyrica plerumque exclamarunt) or Poetae.<sup>12</sup>

To Thoreau, Linnæus is the ideal type of a brave, foresighted scientist. The American has just been reading books on natural history, and is talking about the beauty, training, and bravery of science. The scientist's work is more impressive than that of the warrior, though less trumpeted, he says, and then mentions, as examples, two scholars: (1) the Greek sage, philosopher, and astronomer Thales, and (2) Linnæus. This is assuredly of some significance. In the "Natural History of Massachusetts," Thoreau, who has just been studying the above-mentioned *Lapland Journey*, continues:

Linnæus, setting out for Lapland, surveys his 'comb' and 'spare shirt,' 'leathern breeches,' and 'gauze cap to keep off the gnats,' with as much complacency as Bonaparte a pack of artillery for the Russian campaign. The quiet bravery of the man is admirable. His eye is to take in fish, flower, and bird, quadruped and biped. Science is always brave; for to know is to know good; doubt and danger quail before the eye.<sup>13</sup>

In his article on "Walking" Thoreau quotes Linnæus in connection with remarks by various people on nature in America.<sup>14</sup>

Thoreau admired science when it was united with some concept of beauty, and revered scientists who were able to combine the two. He found the desired combination in the work of two Swedish botanists, one of whom was Linnæus, hence the following letter to Harrison Blake, September 1851:

J. Biberg, in the *Amanitates Botanicae*, edited by Linnæus, observes (I translate from the Latin): "The organs of generation, which, in the animal kingdom, are for the most part concealed by nature, as if they were to be ashamed of, in the vegetable kingdom are exposed to the eyes of all; and when the nuptials of plants are celebrated, it is wonderful what delight they behold to the beholder, refreshing the senses with the most agreeable color and the sweetest odor; and, at the same time, bees and other insects, not to mention the humming-bird, extract

<sup>12</sup> *Journal*, III, 308-309. Speaking of the "fathers of science," Annie Russell Marble in *Thoreau, His Home, Friends, and Books*, p. 284, writes "His [Thoreau's] nomenclature of science was general and broad for that time; his reading included nearly all the best authorities, but he was especially familiar with the earlier nature-students—Aristotle, Pliny, Linnæus, Gerard, Tusser, and Walton." The italics are my own.

<sup>13</sup> *Writings*, V, 107.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

honey from their nectaries, and gather wax from their effete pollen." Linnæus himself calls the calyx the *thalamus*, or bridal chamber; and the corolla the *auleum*, or tapestry of it, and proceeds thus to explain every part of the flower.<sup>15</sup>

There is little doubt that Thoreau took special delight in quoting this passage, which would have a distinct aesthetic appeal to his clean and poetic mind.

And so had the very name of Linnæus, being based, as it was, on an object in nature. On November 15, 1851, Thoreau records in his journal:

I am pleased to read in Stoever's *Life of Linnæus* (Trapp's translation)<sup>16</sup> that his father, being the first learned man of his family, changed his family name and borrowed that of Linnæus (Linden-tree-man) from a lofty linden-tree which stood near his native place,—'A custom,' he says, 'not unfrequent in Sweden, to take fresh appellations from natural objects.'<sup>17</sup> What more fit than that the event of a new man into a family should acquire for it, and transmit to his posterity, a new patronymic? Such a custom suggests, if it does not argue, an unabated vigor in the race, relating it to those primitive times when men did, indeed, acquire a name, as memorable and distinct as their characters.<sup>18</sup>

Thoreau was particularly interested, also, in Linnæus's unique and famous method, clever and effective alike, of re-

<sup>15</sup> *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, edited by F. B. Sanborn, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1894, pp. 249-250.

<sup>16</sup> *The Life of Sir Charles Linnæus*, by D. H. Stoever, Ph.D., translated from the original German by Joseph Trapp, A.M., London, 1794.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3 and pp. 379 ff., which gives "A Genealogy of the Family of the Linnæi." Names like Linnæus and Lindelius derived, of course, from the Swedish vernacular for "linden-tree," *lind*, while the name Tiliander, which some of the relatives had adopted, came, as botanists at once recognize, from *Tilia*, the scientific term for the genus to which the tree belongs.

<sup>18</sup> *Journal*, III, 117. Thoreau is here a bit too sympathetic, romantic, and optimistic. The real reason for changing the family name in Sweden was often one of sheer selfish academic tradition going back to the Middle Ages, and of practicality. It was a great convenience thus to differentiate oneself from the common herd, the names of whose constituents generally ended in a non-distinctive *-son*. Pride and vanity were other motives in the change. Especially if one's name ended in the Latin *-us*, like Linnæus, a very common custom among scholars and theologians, it sounded professionally learned, elegant, and important. But, on the other hand, Thoreau may be right in assuming that a change based on natural objects—when there is such a change—shows something laudable about the people. It does often show a fondness for home and nature.

It is interesting to note in this connection that today, in Iceland, new family names are forbidden by law. The more primitive ending *-son* must prevail.

warding his friends and taking vengeance on his enemies. Stoever in his *Life of Linnæus*, from whom Thoreau must have received his information though he does not specifically say so, had written as follows about the matter:

The attacks of the whole phalanx of his foreign correspondents could not induce him [Linnæus] to accept a challenge. The method of his vengeance was equally original and piquant. He sat enthroned above the whole reign of vegetation. With the plants he transmitted honor and disgrace to posterity. To beautiful plants he assigned the names of his friends, and to the pernicious and inferior ones he gave the names of his enemies. As an instance of this particular, we need only quote here the *Siegesbeckia*, *Heisteria*, *Bufoia*, *Adansonia*, and *Pontederia*.<sup>19</sup>

Apropos of this method Thoreau, on November 16, 1851, makes the following entry in his journal:

What more fatal vengeance could Linnæus have taken than to give the names of his enemies to pernicious and unsightly plants, thus simply putting upon record for as long as the Linnæan system shall prevail who were his friends and foes? It was enough to record the fact that they were opposed to him. To this they could not themselves have objected, nor could he have taken a more fatal vengeance.<sup>20</sup>

On the very next day, November 17, 1851, Thoreau tells a story which explains itself:

All things tend to flow to him who can make the best use of them, even away from their legal owner. A thief, finding with the property of the Italian naturalist [Vitalino] Donati, whom he had robbed abroad, a collection of rare African seeds, forwarded them to Linnæus from Marseilles. Donati suffered shipwreck and never returned.<sup>21</sup>

Apparently Thoreau felt that the seeds had landed in the right place.

In January 1852, Thoreau again takes up the study of Linnæus. He reproduces, from Stoever, part of a criticism by

<sup>19</sup> Stoever, *Life of Linnæus*, 137. Cf., also, pp. 187-188. Here Stoever cites by way of illustration the names of 63 native and foreign friends who were glorified by botanical (generic) names. Such are *Ludwigia*, *Halleria*, *Kalmia*, *Boerhaavia*, etc. The names of most of the persons represented and the characteristics of the flowers that bear their patronymics can easily be checked in any unabridged dictionary, botanical or otherwise. *Pontederia* (see above), for instance, from Giulio Ponteder, an Italian botanist, is the genus for a plant which includes the pickerel weed.

<sup>20</sup> *Journal*, III, 120-121.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.



Baron Albrecht von Haller of Linnæus's method of conferring "titles in the vegetable kingdom" upon people who were not always considered "real and experienced botanists." Haller believed that Linnæus had been too generous with his honors, and that they should often have been reserved for more meritorious scholars.<sup>22</sup> Thoreau is here, however, silent about his own views. Later in the same month (January 30, 1852) he reprints the criticism of the Linnæan system of nomenclature by the English botanist John Lindley, who claimed that the class and order of a plant were not enough, and now Thoreau makes a comment of his own.<sup>23</sup> But he is sensible in his judgment, and whatever objection he has is very impersonal, and one which is to be expected from a philosopher and nature-lover. He makes, naturally, a general plea for the poetry and beauty of flowers as against any system, natural or artificial. He attacks the utilitarian viewpoint, and points out that "Botanies, instead of being poetry, are the prose of the flowers." On the other hand, he recognized the practical value of this prose, of some systematic classification; indeed he probably saw the absolute necessity for it, and so proceeds at once to say: "I do not mean to underrate Linnæus's admirable nomenclature, much of which is itself poetry."<sup>24</sup> Certainly, under the circumstances, this is a high compliment to the Swedish inventor.

The following is of some consequence. On February 3, 1852, Thoreau complains of having to go to the city for books of naturalists and poets. Says the complainer, "When I have just been there [in Boston and Cambridge] on this errand, it seems too great a price to pay for access even to the works of Homer, Chaucer, or Linnæus."<sup>25</sup> The implied compliment to the Swedish botanist is obvious.

A little later Thoreau reproduces or discusses for about three pages<sup>26</sup> quotations by Edward Tuckerman from the works of Fries<sup>27</sup> and Linnæus, quotations which are favorable to the

<sup>22</sup> *Journal*, III, 181. Stoever, *op. cit.*, 188.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal*, III, 250-252.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-288.

<sup>27</sup> See present article, p. 201.

latter's artificial system. "Linnæus was as hearty a lover and admirer of nature as if he had been nothing more." (Quoted by Thoreau from Tuckerman.) Further on Thoreau cites the Swedish scientist again, on the distinction between the simpler *elementa* in nature and the more "composed" *naturalia*.<sup>28</sup>

Here, finally, are four more quotations by Thoreau from or about Linnæus. They need no comment. A long quotation in Latin has been omitted.

Simplicity is the law of nature for men as well as flowers. When the tapestry (corolla) of the nuptial bed (calyx) is excessive, luxuriant, it is unproductive. Linnæus says 'Luxuriant flowers are none natural but all monsters,' and so for the most part abortive, and when proliferous 'they but increase the monstrous deformity.'—Such a flower has no true progeny and can only be reproduced by the humble mode of cuttings from its stem or roots.<sup>29</sup>

March 1, 1852. Linnæus, speaking of the necessity of precise and adequate terms in science, after naming some which he invented for botany, says 'Termini praeservarunt Anatomiam, Mathesin, Chemiam, ab idiotis; Medicinam autem eorum defectus conculcavit.' (Terms well defined have preserved anatomy, mathematics, and chemistry from idiots, but the want of them has ruined medicine.) But I should say that men generally were not enough interested in the first-mentioned sciences to meddle with and degrade them. There is no interested motive to induce them to listen to the quack in mathematics, as they have to attend to the quack in medicine; yet chemistry has been converted into alchemy, and astronomy into astrology.<sup>30</sup>

March 2. According to Linnæus, very many plants become perennial and arborescent in warm regions which with us are annual, as *Tropæolum*, *Beta*, *Majorana*, *Malva arbores*, etc., for duration often depends more on the locality than on the plant. So it is with men. Under more favorable conditions the human plant that is short-lived and dwarfed becomes perennial and arborescent.

I have learned in a shorter time and more accurately the meaning of the scientific terms used in botany from a few plates of figures at the end of "*Philosophia Botanica*," by Linnæus with the names annexed, than a volume of explanations or glossaries could teach. And, that the alternate pages to the plates may not be left blank, he has given on them very concise and important instruc-

<sup>28</sup> *Journal*, III, 307.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 326, 346, 347, respectively, for this and the next two quotations. Linnæus is also referred to as "the man of flowers" (*Journal*, IV, 99). "Flowers were made to be seen, not overlooked. Their bright colors imply eyes, spectators. There have been many flower men who have rambled the world over to see them. The flowers robbed from an Egyptian traveller were at length carefully boxed up and forwarded to Linnæus, the man of flowers."

Linnæus is quoted on hawks (*Journal*, V, 83); and on *Andromeda Polifolia* (*Journal*, V, 316). "I had long been interested in it by Linnæus's account," says Thoreau.

tion to students of botany. This lawgiver of science, this systematizer, this methodist, carries his system into his studies in the field. On one of these little pages he gives some instruction concerning *herbatio*, or what the French called *herborisations*,—we say botanizing. Into this he introduces law and order and system, and describes with the greatest economy of words what some would have required a small volume to tell, all on a small page; tells what dress you shall wear, what instruments you shall carry, what season and hour you shall observe,—viz. “from the leafing of the trees, Sirius excepted, to the fall of the leaf, twice a week in summer, once in spring, from seven in the morning till seven at night,”—when you shall dine and take your rest, etc., in a crowd or dispersed, etc., how far you shall go,—two miles and a half at most,—what you shall collect and what kind of observations to make, etc., etc.

We have now sufficient external autobiographical evidence that Thoreau was more than superficially interested in Linnaeus; that he honored and followed his Swedish master not only as a nature-lover but as a more practical, systematizing botanist; and that the master exerted some real influence upon his American pupil.

Finally, a word about Thoreau's early interest in Swedenborg; we say “early” because we suspect that there was a later and more intensive interest which has not been fully investigated. Here we shall restrict ourselves to a confession by Thoreau himself. It is an interest not in Swedenborg the scientist, as such, but in Swedenborg the spiritual philosopher. In answer to an inquiry Thoreau wrote on December 12, 1856, from Concord, to B. B. Wiley, as follows:

I cannot say that Swedenborg has been directly and practically valuable to me, for I have not been a reader of him, except to a slight extent; but I have the highest regard for him, and trust that I shall read his works in some world or other. He had a wonderful knowledge of our interior and spiritual life, though his illuminations are occasionally blurred by trivialities. He comes nearer to answering, literally, your questions concerning man's origin, purpose, and destiny, than any of the worthies<sup>31</sup> I have referred to. But I think that this is not *altogether* a recommendation; since such an answer to these questions cannot be discovered any more than perpetual motion, for which no reward is offered. The noblest man it is, methinks, that knows, and by his life suggests, the most about these things.<sup>32</sup>

This is at least first-hand testimony. It would seem as though Thoreau were over-modest, for he obviously knew not a little about the Swedish seer.

<sup>31</sup> Confucius and the Hindu philosophers.

<sup>32</sup> Sanborn, *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, 351-352.

## STRINDBERG AND THE PROBLEMS OF NATURALISM

CARL E. W. L. DAHLSTRÖM  
*University of Michigan*

THE present essay is written as a tentative prolegomenon to a study of Strindberg's naturalism. In my work relating to another school, that of expressionism, I have been wrestling for years with criteria that would prove valid in testing works of literature, particularly Strindberg's dramas. From my first attempt<sup>1</sup> in this field to the latest<sup>2</sup> I have realized that some kind of critical apparatus must be developed if meaningful results are to be obtained. Until recently, however, I have for the most part been groping for an effective method. It seems that in the literature devoted to the schools no one has established such order that the work of one investigator is demonstrably valid and hence acceptable to others.<sup>3</sup> Thus in studying Strindberg and the various schools of literature with which he was reportedly associated I have repeatedly been brought to a halt because of the dubious value of publications pertaining to romanticism, realism, naturalism, impressionism, and expressionism.

In general, our failures in the study of schools and movements may be ascribed, I believe, to one prime cause: we have no acceptable aesthetics pertaining to literature. As a result, we

<sup>1</sup> "August Strindberg, the Father of Dramatic Expressionism," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, 10 (1928), 261-272, published 1929.

<sup>2</sup> "Strindberg's 'Fadren' as an Expressionistic Drama," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XVI, 3 (August, 1940), 83-94.

<sup>3</sup> Read, for example, the recently published symposium on romanticism in which each of six writers admittedly goes his own way—"Romanticism: A Symposium" (Blankenagel, Havens, Fairchild, McKenzie, Tarr, Nitchie), *PMLA*, LV (1940), 1-60. In the Foreword we read: "Each discussion represents an individual method of approach to this broad and difficult subject. If there is a consequent loss of such unity as might come from a series of articles written by a single author, there may be something gained in variety and comprehensiveness."

are confused about approaches to the literary arts.<sup>4</sup> Then, because we have been muddled as regards approaches, we have not succeeded in offering competent analyses of dominant figures in the schools; consequently we have no valid definitions. From the foregoing it follows only too clearly that we are rather helpless in the investigation of questionable cases.

At this point it will be obvious why I admit reaching an impasse in the study of Strindberg's naturalism. In truth, I have been forced to the conclusion that little effective work will be done in this field until steps are taken to provide an acceptable procedure.

#### *A Critical Apparatus*

There are several essential ways of examining any work of art: one may analyze the medium, the stuff out of which the art object is made; one may investigate the attendant elements and significant relationships; and, finally, one may study the work itself, both as a whole and in its constituent elements.

Before taking up these approaches as applied to literature, we must clearly distinguish between subjective grasps—tastes—and objective analyses. Although we should be cognizant of both, we must recognize that the confusion of the two is disastrous to scholarship. *De gustibus non est disputandum* has long been used as a silencer in discussions relating to the fine arts, even when there has been an honest attempt to focus the attention on matters pertaining immediately to the art object and not to the contemplator thereof. The Latin expression is doubtless neither more nor less than an utterance of despair, with perhaps an overtone of mockery, and not at all an argument. We should not hesitate to talk about tastes—indeed, we should examine them and try to order them if possible—but it goes without saying that we should be fully conscious of what we are doing. Moreover, the proper place for an investigation of tastes is the laboratory of psychology, and the person fitted for the work is one trained in both art and psychology.

To scholars who are interested in literary works as art objects it should be patent that though we enjoy literature subjectively,

<sup>4</sup> See "Statement of the Committee of Twenty-Four," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), pp. 1367-1371.

we must study it as well as our reactions to it objectively. Thus in my work pertaining to naturalism I must try to direct my attention solely to objective analyses of works that are widely accepted as naturalistic in order that I may derive from them the needed guides for the present study of Strindberg.

In the dichotomy of subjective and objective approaches we have managed to slough off one of these, viz., the former. In the division of aesthetic and nonaesthetic approaches, however, we can dispense with neither.

First of all, consider language. The nonaesthetic approach makes possible linguistic studies pertaining to phonetics, morphology, syntax, and semantics. If a particular school of literature has peculiarities relating to any one of these, we should ferret them out and set them up as tentative criteria. Aesthetic analyses, on the other hand, should bring to light matters of diction, rhythmic qualities, figures of speech, and any other devices. By virtue of both aesthetic and nonaesthetic studies we should be able to determine whether or not a school like naturalism reveals special characteristics in the employment of language. The studies should also determine if the usages can be translated into, or re-created in, other tongues.

In the second place, let us observe the attendant elements and significant relationships. Are there special materials or techniques that are employed? Will bibliographical data offer any clues? Is it possible to make comparisons that will be enlightening? Except for comparative studies, this category of investigation will probably be the least fruitful in the analysis of schools of literature, but it cannot be ignored.

We now turn to those approaches by means of which we analyze the literary work as a whole and as an aggregate of constituent parts, both in regard to aesthetic matters and nonaesthetic. As a whole, the work may be definitely associated with religion, philosophy, or science. If so, it may be examined first of all not as a work of art but as a document belonging to a nonaesthetic field of inquiry. Here we must issue a warning: There are times when the literary work may actually be a document in a nonaesthetic field and yet that field will not be a distinguishing mark for a school. We may illustrate by pointing to

naturalism. Suppose that in studying Zola's naturalism we select science as the essential characteristic. We may then be led to assume that a positivistic, scientific attitude characterizes every kind of naturalism; moreover, that every work exploiting science must be naturalistic. This is one place in which a reasonably wide acquaintance with literature may keep one from deriving false values from certain manifestations. Such an acquaintance may lead one to suspect that a writer like Novalis was possibly naturalistic with a metaphysical stamp; Rousseau and certain nineteenth-century English poets, religious; Dostoevski, psychological; Zola, scientific; and Arno Holz, aesthetic. Whether these qualifications are correct or wholly wide of the mark is of no immediate significance; it is important chiefly that one should have enough skepticism to recognize possibilities throughout the range of European and American literature. If, of course, the religious, philosophical, or scientific characteristic modifies a work of literature aesthetically, we are on more secure ground; but then we are no longer evaluating the work solely as a non-aesthetic document.

In the aesthetic analysis of a literary work taken as a whole, we first ask ourselves in what respects we study any piece of literature as a unit. We talk of classifications or genres, rhythmic qualities, unity, veins, form and content, purpose, presentation, artist's approach, reality, style, and other matters; but in many of these items we find ourselves relatively ignorant or else in such disagreement with our colleagues that we are mutually not very helpful. We can, of course, classify literature into poetry and prose and indicate some subdivisions of each. Yet, just what constitutes a genre in literature? I do not know, except that it is unrelated to the term "genre-painting." Again, although rhythm is, I believe, basic in all the fine arts, we remain relatively muddled regarding its properties.<sup>5</sup> Some headway probably can be made in a study of the organic unity of a work and in the vein. Whether tragedy and comedy are essentially classifications, genres, veins, or qualifications of action, I am not

<sup>5</sup> Cf. my paper, "An Introduction to the Critical Appreciation of Literature," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, 19 (1934), 507-524.

now prepared to say; I am, however, convinced that Aristotle's definitions are not sufficiently inclusive to describe comedies and tragedies of the Western World. Likewise, I am bewildered when I listen to discussions about form and content, most especially discussions that treat form as though it were some kind of garb readily slipped on and off from an independent content. Surely anyone conversant with the arts must understand that when we talk about form and content as though separate we are arbitrarily putting asunder that which in fact cannot be separated.<sup>6</sup> Our real problem is this: How can we discuss content in form?

Some of the matters associated with the aesthetic analysis of a work of art taken as a whole can be done satisfactorily, but a number of them will be of such dubious value that the scholar will have to exercise a great deal of self-restraint to avoid using specious reasoning and questionable data. For the present I have more confidence in the possibilities arising from the examination of a work of art in terms of its constituent elements. Here we can discuss fragments, or parts, recognizing that they are such. As a result, we are in a position to examine aspects of the subject matter, superficial elements of form,<sup>7</sup> situation,<sup>8</sup> plot, *dramatis personae*,<sup>9</sup> theme,<sup>10</sup> setting, the interrelation of these elements, and special devices. If all cannot be carefully analyzed, usually a sufficient number can be brought under control so as to make it possible for the scholar to have positive data at his command. My more recent work has moved steadily in this direction, and I am reasonably sure that more labor will produce convincing results.

<sup>6</sup> At the second English Institute (Sept. 9-14, 1940, New York City) the problem of content and form came to the fore in the sections devoted to Literary History and Literary Criticism. It was agreed by some that content and form are inseparable, but this I must contend is only the approach to the problem, not at all a solution. Cf. Rose Frances Egan, "Genesis of the Theory of 'Art for Art's Sake,'" *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, II (July, 1921), 5-61.

<sup>7</sup> Divisions into acts and scenes, stanzas, lines, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. my "Analysis of Literary Situation," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 872-889; also "Situation and Character in 'Till Damaskus,'" *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 886-902.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. N. Wenger, "An Introduction to the Aesthetics of Literary Portraiture," *PMLA*, L (1935), 615-629.

<sup>10</sup> That is, the guiding idea.



The elements suggested for constituent parts are of especial service in the examination of narrative forms of literature. In nonnarrative forms it may be necessary to analyze more closely a limited number of factors, for example, language, theme, and composition, the last item pointing primarily to that interrelation of parts that makes for progressive development without sacrifice of organic unity. Manifestly all poetry is subject to prosodiocal analysis, whether or not the narrative form is employed.

It should hardly be necessary to remark that the objective analyses of a literary work may or may not reveal peculiarities. Again, any one of us, because of ignorance, may denote something a special characteristic when it is not. Consequently much of this work must remain tentative until buttressed by complementary studies. We may declare, however, that unless a quality considered peculiar to a particular element is of such force as to condition the whole work and thus modify other parts, it is doubtful if we have discovered anything pertinent to a school. In general, characteristics must be striking in themselves, or in combination, to convince us that we have secured a fundamental grasp. Thus if classicism, romanticism, naturalism, expressionism, and other schools are essentially different, functional analyses will give us something tangible with which to work.

My tests have been rather limited. Yet I am fairly well assured that the elements of a critical apparatus thus far revealed will do much to forward my studies of literary naturalisms in general and Strindberg's naturalism in particular.

#### *Naturalism: Analysis and Definition*

The next step in the study of Strindberg's naturalism is to find a significant naturalist to examine so that criteria may be set up. If there were only one kind of naturalism, this task would not be difficult. Unfortunately, however, there have been several kinds of naturalism, from that of the ancient Greeks to that of present-day works like *The Grapes of Wrath*. All these should be analyzed and classified some time, but apparently not one of them has as yet been treated adequately. Hence it is necessary to make useful selections if the work on Strindberg is to have direction.

From previous studies of Strindberg we may point to those writers with whom he was at some time or other acquainted, especially those writers associated with realism and naturalism. Here too, however, there are dangers that must not be overlooked: Strindberg may have concocted a naturalism different from all others; again, he may have been the unconscious agent of the rebirth of an earlier kind. If one or the other of these hazards should be realized, there will be trouble in store for the scholar; yet research should eventually clarify everything.

More definitely, authors like Rousseau, Dickens, and Zola have been indicated as writers who influenced Strindberg. Most especially, critics have called attention to Zola, an arch-propagandist for literary naturalism in the nineteenth century. Thus it would be reasonable for a scholar first of all to make a study of Zola in an effort to set up criteria for one kind of naturalism.

At this point some one may raise the objection that the inductive method is fruitless because essentially we do not know what we are looking for. My answer is that few research projects can successfully be carried out by either the deductive or the inductive method alone; both must be used. Moreover, we do not make a beginning with a *tabula rasa*. From my own work, I realize that one might profitably study Russian, English, or French sources, to begin the investigation of Strindberg's naturalism; but I am also convinced that the figure of Zola looms up the largest. Either he has provided the basic characteristics of Strindberg's so-called dramatic naturalism, as certain critics maintain, or he has not. Only a careful examination, not a careless leafing through of works or wishful thinking, will provide an acceptable answer. It will be necessary to analyze very closely the Rougon-Macquart series as well as the critical works; otherwise we cannot be sure that Zola was consistent or that Strindberg derived his material from the Frenchman's novels rather than from his expository works.

#### *The Analysis of Strindberg's Naturalism*

The *Samlade skrifter* of August Strindberg number exactly fifty-five volumes; there are also two posthumous volumes as well as letters which have been published from time to time.

It is obvious that one must make a beginning by carefully limiting his problem. At first we might be tempted to select *Röda rummet*, because that novel was called naturalistic and Strindberg's name was then linked with Zola's. Yet Strindberg declared that when *Röda rummet* was published in 1879, he knew nothing of Zola.<sup>11</sup> Although authors are frequently not to be trusted, we need not hurry to accuse Strindberg of falsehood this time. It is true that Zola had published eight volumes of the Rougon-Macquart novels between 1871 and 1878, and his struggle for naturalism had gone well beyond a mere beginning; at the same time, Strindberg may have remained, in provincial Sweden, quite innocent of contacts with Zola. But whatever later research may prove, *Röda rummet* would make a questionable beginning for the investigation of Strindberg's naturalism in relation to Zola.

For my investigations I have fastened upon the twenty-third volume of the *Samlade skrifter*, the one to which editor John Landquist gave the title *Naturalistiska sorgespel*. The dramas of this volume were composed after Strindberg had made the acquaintance of Zola's works, and thus there are objective data to exploit. The procedure is clear: The plays gathered together under the rubric *Naturalistiska sorgespel* must be examined individually in terms of the critical apparatus set up through the study of Zola. This study will then not establish whether or not the plays are naturalistic in every possible sense; it will only determine whether they do or do not conform to the criteria of Zola's naturalism.

<sup>11</sup> "Man kallade mig romantiker, men det var bara ett tillämnat glåpord, eftersom jag förut utgivit Röda Rummet, som dock icke är skriven efter naturalismens prospekt, ty jag kände icke till Zola den gången, men väl Dickens och Hugo." From the essay "Omkring 1890" (published 1910), *Samlade skrifter*, LIII, 100. Note that the essay "Om realism" (*Samlade skrifter*, XVII, 191-200), which first appeared in 1882, reveals Strindberg conscious of the term "naturalism" but still embroiled in the battle of the real and the ideal.

## SOME ETYMOLOGIES OF OLD NORSE POETIC WORDS

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT  
*University of Kansas*

### I. Mythological Names

A. *Gná* (*Gnǫ*), one of Frigg's maids. The name *Gná* is recorded in a thula of the *Sn. Edda*<sup>1</sup> as an *ásynja* and in the *Gylfaginning* (XXXV) as Frigg's maid: "Fjögrtánda Gná, hana sendir Frigg í ýmsa heima at erindum sínum." Elsewhere Frigg's *eskimær* is *Fulla* (cf. introduction to *Grm.*: "Frigg sendi eskimey sína Fullu til Geirrþar.>").

If Snorri knew the meaning of the name *Gná*, it is possible that his substitution of the name *Gná* for *Fullu* in the *Gylfaginning* was due to the closely related meanings of these two names.

Sijmons-Gering (*Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, I, p. 427) derive *Gná* from \**ga-naha* and suggest the meaning 'die erfolgreiche.' But the stem \**ga-nah-* means 'sufficient' (cf. Goth. *ga-nah*=ἀρκεῖ; Goth. *ga-nōhs*:ON *gnógr* 'sufficient,' etc.). Accordingly, \**ga-naha*>\**gnā-u*>*gnǫ* could mean 'sufficiency, abundance' (cf. Goth. *ga-naúha*=ἀντάρκεια 'sufficiency') and could thus serve as a synonym for *Fulla*=Goth. *fullō* 'fullness, sufficiency.'

B. *Kerti*, dat. sg., name of a mythical horse. This name occurs in *Kalfsvísa* (Fr. 12,3). If we may postulate a nom. form \**Kqrtr* (<\**Kartur*), this name may be identical with *kqrtr*, used as a nick-name for men (cf. *Aarb.* [1907], p. 227).

Finnur Jónsson (*Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>) translates *Kerti* by 'den lille,' but without stating from what root he derives this meaning. Bugge (*Norr. Fornkv.*, p. 383) reconstructs a nom. form \**Kertr*, but without comment. B. Kahle (IF., XIV, p. 164) accepts this reconstruction and connects the form \**Kertr* with Mod. Icel. *kertr* 'erectus': Mod. Norw. *kjerrast* 'stretch out the neck' (cf. Aasen, p. 356a), interpreting \**Kertr* to mean 'an animal which stretches out its neck.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* (udg. . . ved Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1912-1915): B: Rettet text; II, p. 661.

Kahle's derivation cannot be disproved. But an equally plausible derivation seems to me *\*Kqrtr* (<*\*Kart-ur*) from *kart-a* 'cart' (cf. *Rp.* 22, 4) in the sense of 'a cart-horse, Lastpferd' in contradistinction to *hross* 'Reitpferd' (cf. NHG *Pferd*<sup>2</sup> <MLat. *paraverēdus* <Grk. *παρά*+Celtic *ve* 'bei'+*raeda* 'vier-rädiger Wagen'). A form *\*Kqrtr* (<*\*Kart-ur*) is all the more plausible in that it is in keeping with the *u*-stems (with radical vowel *a*) denoting animals, such as *goltr* 'boar,' *kqltr* (MLat. *cattus*) 'cat,' *mqlr* 'moth,' *mqrðr* 'marten,' *qrn* 'eagle,' etc.

## II. Words for 'Earth, Land, Country'

A. *Hauðr* 'earth.' The word *hauðr* occurs only once in the *Elder Edda* (*Hdl.* 50,1), but very frequently in skaldic poetry. Since *hauðr* apparently has no counterpart in the other Gic. languages, we may assume that it represents a specifically ON formation.

If the *-r* in *hauð-r* represents an *r*-extension, we may equate *hauð-* with the ablaut variant *hūð*<sup>3</sup> 'hide, skin' (<IE *\*kūti-*; cf. Lat. *cutis*:Grk. *ktros* 'skin'). The *au*-grade<sup>4</sup> vowel likewise occurs (with initial *s-*) in ON *skaud-ir* pl. 'Vorhaut eines Pferdes' (cf. *skjóða* 'bag, sack'):Goth. *skauda*-[*raip*] 'shoe-string' (cf. Lat. *scūtum* 'covering, shield'). For this whole group of words we may postulate an IE base *\*(s)keu* 'to cover.' The semantic development of *hauðr*<sup>5</sup> could then have been 'a covering' > 'surface'<sup>6</sup> (cf. NHG *Decke* 'ceiling':*Dach* 'roof':*decken* 'to cover';

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wtb. der deutschen Sprache*<sup>11</sup> (1934). Kluge's translation of *paraverēdus* by "Nebenpferd" is somewhat misleading in that the word *Nebenpferd* implies 'one horse beside another.' The sense of *paraverēdus* is rather '[an animal harnessed] alongside a wagon,' *neben* (den) *Wagen* (gespanntes)' or 'zum *Wagen* gehöriges.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.*, p. 425, *Hud*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Falk-Torp, p. 1013, *Skjóge*; Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache*,<sup>3</sup> p. 430, *skauda-raip*.

<sup>5</sup> For ON neuter substantives with *r*-extension denoting a locality compare *set-r* (*setja*) 'place, mountain pasture'; *rjóð-r* (*rjóða*) 'cleared-out place in a forest.'

<sup>6</sup> For the conception of 'earth' as a 'surface, bottom' compare Lat. *tellus*: Skr. *tala-* 'surface, bottom, plain'; Grk. *ἔδαφος*, Lat. *solum*, NHG *Boden*, *Grund*. See C. D. Buck "Words for World, Earth and Land, Sun," *Lang.* (1929), V, pp. 224-226. To Buck's list may be added OE *hrāse* 'Erde, Grund' (cf. OHG *hrosa* 'Kruste,' Lat. *crusta*).

Swed. *täcke* 'quilt, cover' > 'earth's surface, ground' > 'earth, land' (cf. *hauðr* 'earth': *Þriðja hauðr* 'shield [cf. Lat. *scutum*] of Þriði [Othin]').

For a semantic parallel 'covering' > 'earth' compare \**swarþ*:- \**swarð*- 'Kopfhaut; Schwarte' > 'Rasen.' Falk-Torp (p. 1222, *Svær*) postulate a base \*(s)*ver*- 'bedecken.' From the basic sense 'to cover' were developed the secondary senses of (1) 'covering of the head, scalp'; 'skin covered with hair' (cf. ON *svqrðr*: OFris.-MLG *sward*); (2) 'hard covering, crust, rind of bacon' (cf. OE *sweard*; *sweard*: MHG *swarte* > NHG *Schwarte*); (3) 'covering of soil, earth' (cf. Eng. [*green*]-*sward*: MLG [*grön*]-*sward*).

If *hauðr* represents an ablaut relation to *húð*, we may compare the following semantic parallels derived from the bases \*(s)*keu*:- \*(s)*ver*- 'to cover': (1) *húð*: *svqrðr* 'skin (of the head)'; (2) *hauðr*: Eng.-MLG *sward*(e) 'soil, earth.'

B. *Bjqð* 'earth's surface, land.' This word occurs only once in the *Elder Edda* (*Vsp.* 4, 1), but frequently in skaldic poetry. Bugge (*Stud.* p. 6, Anm. 3) believes *bjqð* to be a loan word from OIrish *bioth*, *bith* 'world.' The fact that *bjqð* has apparently no counterpart in the other Gic. languages would seem to favor Bugge's hypothesis. But the possibility of a native Gic. origin should first be carefully investigated before resorting to the assumption of a loan word.

The reading *bjqð* with short diphthong has been definitely established<sup>7</sup>; hence we may assume PGic. \**beð*- > \**bjoð*-u > *bjqð*. PGic. \**beð*- may be derived from IE \**bhedh*- 'dig.' If so, we may postulate the semantic development of *bjqð* as follows: 'something dug' > 'earth's surface,<sup>8</sup> soil' > 'earth.' For the conception<sup>9</sup> of 'earth' as 'soil,' which can easily be dug (crushed or removed), compare ON *mold*: Goth. *mulda* 'dust, mold, earth' (Goth. *malan*: ON *mala* 'grind, crush'); ON *grund*: Goth. *grundu*-[*waddjus*] 'ground' (OE *grindan* 'grind').

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mogk, *PBB.*, VII, p. 231, footnote 3; Finnur Jónsson, *Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>, *Bjqð*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Vsp.* 4, 1 (Gering's 4th edition):

*Apr Burs synir*                      *bjqpum of yþpu*

"Before Bur's sons lifted up the earth's surfaces." Gering (*Glossar*) gives the meaning of *bjqð* as 'erdfläche, land'; Neckel (*Glossar*) as 'land.'

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 224, d.

C. *Hjarl* 'land, country.' This word is confined to skaldic poetry. If we may assume a base *\*her-* (with initial *s-*, *\*sker-*) 'to cut,' the form *hjarl* may be derived from *\*her-l-a* with PG *l*-extension. If so, the basic sense of *hjarl* could have been 'something cut or split<sup>10</sup> off' (cf. *\*her-þ-an* [with PG *þ*-extension] > OE *heorþa*: OHG *herdo* 'skin of an animal, fleece': cf. Lat. *cor-ium* 'skin'; *\*her-ð*<sup>11</sup> [with PG *ð*-extension] > ON *herð-r*: OHG *hert-i* 'shoulder-blade'). From a basic sense 'something cut off' could be derived the sense of 'layer, covering,' from which the sense of 'land' could develop as in the parallel *hauðr* 'covering' > 'earth' (cf. *hauð*: OE *heorþa* 'skin'). With *hjarl* compare *hjarn*<sup>12</sup> (< *\*her-n-a* with PG *n*-extension) 'frozen snow and ice (covering the earth)' > 'frozen earth'; Norw. dial. *skarka* (< *\*skar-* with PG *k*-extension in ablaut relation to *\*sker-*) 'frozen crust'; ON *skyr* (< *\*skur-ja* in ablaut relation to *\*sker-*) 'coagulated milk' (i.e., 'milk with a coagulated surface').

If my interpretation of these three poetic designations for 'earth' (*hauðr*, *bjǫð*, and *hjarl*) is correct, they all represent the basic conception of 'earth' as 'a covering, surface, layer' with various connotations. These connotations are apparently: (1) *hauðr* 'ground, fundament'; (2) *bjǫð* 'soft earth, soil'; (3) *hjarl*<sup>13</sup> 'hard earth' (cf. Lat. *terra* < *\*tersa*: *torreo* 'dry up'). All these connotations in words denoting 'earth, land' in other IE languages have been pointed out by Buck (*op. cit.*).

### III. Words for 'King, Prince, Warrior,' etc.

A. *Gylfi* 'sea-king; king, prince.' *Gylfi*, *-a* represents a shortened form of *gylfir*.<sup>14</sup> The form *gylfi* always occurs as a pure *an*-stem in spite of the umlauted radical vowel *-y-*. *Gylfi(r)* may be derived from a stem *\*gulþ-* in ablaut relation to *\*gelþ-*, e.g., in *\*gelþ-r-a* > *gjalfir* 'roaring, resounding sea'; hence *gylfi* 'sea-king' > 'king, prince.'

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Germ. *Schären*: Eng. *skerries* (*\*sker-*); Eng. *cliff* (OE *clēofan* 'to cleave').

<sup>11</sup> Cf. G. S. Lane, *JEGPh.* (1933), XXXII, p. 293, and literature there cited.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Falk-Torp, p. 986, *Skare* (II).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *hjarn* 'frozen earth': *hjarn-i* 'skull.'

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>4</sup> §371, Anm. 2; *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen*, Paul's Grundriss 3 (1928), §195, 4.

The stems *\*gulb-: \*gelb-* may represent PG *b*-extensions of the bases *\*gul-: \*gel-* 'roar, resound.' For *\*gul-b-* compare Mod. Du. *golf* (< *\*gol-b-a*) 'Welle' and with PG *n-* or *z*-extension ON *gjalla* (< *\*gel-nan* or *\*gel-zan*): p. part. *gollinn* (< *\*gullanax*) 'to resound, ring.' With *gylfi: gollinn* compare *bryti* 'breaker (of rings); king, prince': *brotinn* 'broken.' For *\*gel-b-* compare Norw. dial. *gjælv*: MLG *gelve* 'Wellengang.'

G. Neckel<sup>15</sup> is right in connecting *gylfi* with *gjalfir*, but he does not show the etymological connection.

Gering's<sup>16</sup> etymology of *gylfi(r)* from the adjective *gulr* must be rejected. First of all, the adjective *gulr* 'yellow' never occurs in the derived sense of 'resplendent, glänzend,' nor is it ever applied to a king or person of high rank. The adjective *gulr* does not occur in the *Elder Edda*, and in skaldic poetry it is confined to its literal sense of 'yellow' (cf. *Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>). Secondly, Gering's etymology fails to account for the fact that *gylfi* so frequently occurs in the sense of a 'sea-king.'<sup>17</sup>

B. *Skyli* 'king, prince.' This word is restricted to skaldic poetry. Cleasby-Vigfússon translate *skyli* by 'protector' and connect it with the proper name *Skúli*. I believe this derivation is correct.

From a base *\*skeu-* 'to cover' we may derive three stems with PG *l*-extension: (1) *\*skeul-a > skjól* 'protection, covering'; (2) *\*skúl- > OFris. skûl* = MLG *schûl* 'Schutz, Versteck': ON *Skúl-i* proper name 'Protector,' *skýl-ir* 'protector'; (3) *\*skúl- > skyl-i* 'protector.'

The *-û-* in *\*skúl-jan > skyli* represents the low grade vowel of the *eu*-series parallel to the *-û-*, e.g., in *\*brût-jan > bryti* 'breaker (of rings); prince' (*brjóta* 'break'), *\*skût-jan > skyti* 'shooter' (*skjóta* 'shoot'), *\*-nut-jan > nyti* 'partaker' (*njóta* 'partake'; cf. Goth. *niutan: nûta*). Since a verb *\*skjöla*<sup>18</sup> (< *\*skeulan*) 'protect' does not occur, it is evident that the form *skyli* was fashioned

<sup>15</sup> Glossar to his edition of the *Elder Edda* (1927), p. 68: "Gylfi . . . 'brauser' (s. *gjálfr-dýr*), name eines meerriesen. . . ."

<sup>16</sup> Sijmons-Gering, *Kommentar*, II, p. 99: " . . . eigentlich 'der glänzende' (zu *gulr*). . . ."

<sup>17</sup> Numerous examples in *Lex. Poet.*,<sup>2</sup> *Gylfi*.

<sup>18</sup> But compare the weak verb *skýla* (< *\*skeuljan*) 'to protect.'



after the pattern of the *jan*-stems (nomina agentis) connected with the strong verbs of the 2nd ablaut series.

C. *Stillir* 'king, prince.' Since the verb *stilla*, from which the nomen agentis *stillir* is derived, has two fundamentally different senses (viz., (1) 'make quiet, moderate, temper'; *\*stilljan* > ON *stilla*: OS *stillian*, OHG *stillen* and (2) 'to arrange, put in order'; cf. *\*stalljan*<sup>19</sup> > OE *stellan*, OS *stellian*, OHG *stellen*), commentators disagree as to whether the noun *stillir* signifies (1) 'moderator, peace-maker,'<sup>20</sup> etc., or (2) 'arranger, controller,'<sup>21</sup> etc. The evidence, however, clearly favors the latter (2) interpretation.

In the first place, we have no parallels for words denoting 'king, prince' < 'moderator, peace-maker,' etc. Secondly, all the skaldic kennings<sup>22</sup> with *stillir* plus a genitive attribute clearly signify 'arranger, controller of': compare (a) for 'warrior, hero'; *stillir lýða, herja*,<sup>23</sup> *hersa* 'arranger, controller of people, armies, chieftains,' with which compare *fylkir* 'one who commands the fylki' (battle-array); (b) for 'God'; *stillir aldar, bragna* 'controller of life, men'; (c) for 'skald'; *stillir stefja* 'controller of staves'; (d) for 'giant'; *fjalla stillir* 'controller, ruler of mountains.' For semantic parallels to *stillir* 'arranger, controller' > the generic sense of 'king, prince' compare *valdi* (*valda* 'control'), *Buðli* 'proper name' (*bjóða* 'command').

Neckel's interpretation 'Besänftiger, Friedenstifter' should be discarded for the simple reason that there is no evidence that the word *stillir* ever had this sense. Neckel has not followed the evidence but has inferred this meaning from the verb (1) *stilla* (< *\*stilljan*) as it occurs, e.g., in *Vkv.* 17, 3: *stilli rǫddu* 'mässigte die Stimme, sprach leise.'

<sup>19</sup> For ON *stilla* 'to arrange, put in order' we may postulate a denominative formation *\*stell-jan* from *\*stella* 'place' in ablaut relation to *\*stalljan*. See A. Fick, *Wtb. der indogermanischen Sprachen* (= *Wortschatz der germanischen Sprachreihe*, 1909), pp. 487-488, *stalla*; Falk-Torp, p. 1167, *Stille*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon 'stillir, moderator'; Neckel (*Glossar*) 'Besänftiger, Friedenstifter.'

<sup>21</sup> Finnur Jónsson (*Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>) 'ordner, styrrer'; Gering (*Glossar*) 'Ordner.' Fritznier (*Ordb.*) does not commit himself on this point; 'Hersker, Fyrste.'

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup> *Stillir*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *herja stillir* (= *Þjóþrek*), *Gþr.* III, 4, 1.

## OBSERVATIONS ON TAYLOR'S TRANSLATION OF THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA\*

LEE M. HOLLANDER  
*University of Texas*

MORE than any other of the more extensive historic sagas the saga of the rulers of the Orkneys is a mosaic of larger and smaller pieces, colored and drab, gathered from other sagas and from oral tradition, all joined together without any other unifying principle than just that of temporal succession. The compiler's intention plainly was to give as complete an account as possible of the history of the Orkney earldom, from the time the islands were wrested from the original Gaelic inhabitants by vikings from Norway, toward the end of the 9th century, down to his own times, the beginning of the 13th century. His work is not a masterpiece in any sense. The writer had neither the critical acumen and dry perspicacity of Ari nor the perspective, the epic-dramatic power and unrivalled plastic ability of Snorri. Nor has he a style which can be called his own. As a consequence, however importantly it ranks as source material for the Northern Islands and Scotland in the early Middle Ages, the book gives little satisfaction either to the historically inclined mind or to the aesthetic sense. Even among the more vivid episodes there are few that are unforgettable. There is not even the ability to make that demonic witch woman Frakok and the splendid swaggering freebooter Svein Asleifarson really live. Indeed, there is here a mass of half-quarried raw material for novelists and dramatists. The saga does not know what to do with it.

It is thus understandable that this saga has attracted few readers and translators. And very likely, Taylor's translation will be the last for a long time; both because it is, on the whole, satisfactory and because his introduction answers exhaustively most of the questions which can be asked concerning the origin, implications, authenticity, and historic reliability of the work. In fact, his Introduction contains one of the most thorough studies of the source material which we have of any saga; and his

\* *The Orkneyinga Saga. A New Translation with Introduction and Notes.* By Alexander Burt Taylor. London, 1938. Pp. 437.

voluminous notes, devoted chiefly to topographic studies embodying years of research on the spot, satisfy the demand voiced by Sigurður Nordal on this score.<sup>1</sup> An interesting and commendable innovation is the attempt, "at many points frankly speculative,"<sup>2</sup> to reconstruct, in narrative form, the author's process of compilation. This is useful, because the MS relations of the saga are so complicated that only the scholar specializing in the Historic Sagas and intimately acquainted with the details of the numerous MSS can either pretend to have an opinion or to visualize at all their interrelations.

The present writer is little qualified to pass on these and the topographic contributions of Taylor's work. They will no doubt be adequately dealt with by reviewers in the Scandinavian, and especially the Scottish, journals. The following discussion is, rather, directed toward its value as a translation and interpretation.

In this respect Taylor's version is on the whole good and readable—with reservations. From the outset it is to be admitted that any evaluation is bound to be subjective, no two translators from Old Norse seeing eye to eye as to methods. Nevertheless there is unanimity as to the style of the best sagas: it is prose at its prosiest, if you please, matter of fact, unrhetorical and unadorned even when the heights of human existence are reached and its depths sounded. It is utterly pellucid, absolutely dedicated to the task in hand: the narrative. This means that in the translation of a saga no bookish or startlingly unusual words or phrases should for a moment deflect the reader's attention. Likewise it is agreed that skaldic style is antipodal—baroquely ornate, artificial, pompous. Here words and phrases of current coinage and appeal must be strictly avoided.

There are few offences against the latter principle in Taylor's work; though one regrets occasional lapses like "a poser for me" (p. 179) for *vandligr kost*; "blasphemy" (p. 303) for *guðfjón*;

<sup>1</sup> *Orkneyinga Saga*. Udgivet for Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel Nordisk Literatur. 1913-1916. Cf. p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> As Nordal declares, *ibid.*, LVI: "—det er saa langt fra, at vi kan rekonstruere sagaen i dens oprindelige skikkelse, at vi ikke engang kan komme tilbage til bearbejdelsen fra det 13. aarhundrede. . . ."

"crash we went" (p. 277) for *brast, þas bæði lesti . . . Hjelp ok Fífu*; "ghastly slime" (p. 226) for *leirur megingrimmar*; "green fire" (p. 175) for *limdolgr* (just why?).

More serious, as also more frequent, is the use of inappropriate verbal material in the prose.

In the first place, though the saga is intimately related to Scottish history, Scotticisms like "out with" for "without"; he "met in with him"; "he put off much time"; "pay the Scots out for their treachery," etc., are liable to startle the reader.

Likewise, colloquialisms not called for by the context in the original; as, e.g., "his expedition was thought a huge joke" (*þótti hans ferð in hæðiligsta*), *passim*, when "was considered a great failure" is more appropriate; "Rognvald did a spell in the defence forces" (p. 170) (*hafði Rognvaldr þá landvörn nockura stund*), which is too chatty; "the Earl did not fall asleep over the journey" (p. 150)—he had been promised the King's friendship if he would come—(*jarl lagdisk eigi þá fyrir undir höfuð*), where the more dignified "he did not put off the journey" is preferable; "he was late in being ready . . . for he put off much time" (p. 304) (*þvíat hann dvalði máti*), an idiom unknown to me, where I would say "for this and that delayed him"; "still the fact leaks out" (p. 187) (*þar kemr þó enn*) is unfortunate for "the fact is."

Foreign idioms; as, e.g., "they had an inkling that Harald would make for there" (p. 314) (*þeim var van at Haraldr mundi þangat leita*), meaning "they suspected that Harald would come there"; "but where Thorfinn was concerned, as soon as he," etc. (p. 160) (*enn þar er Þorfinnr var, þar er hann hafði . . .*), meaning "as to Thorfinn," etc.

Latinisms and verbiage frequently spoil a passage; e.g., "negotiations culminated in a meeting between the earls" (p. 314) (*varð þá komit á stefnulagi með þeim jorlum*), for "a meeting was arranged," etc.; "now it must be told of Earl Harald's project that," etc. (p. 315) (*en þat er at segja frá ferðum Haralds jarls, at . . .*), for "now this is told of Earl Harald's journey," etc.; "but what with his ambition, and the fact that we have come here, he would not scruple to deal as he liked with our decision" (p. 158) (*en við stórræði hans ok þat er vér erum hér*

*komnir, þá mun honum lítt fyrir, at gera þat af várum kosti, sem honum sýnisk*), which is complicated and unidiomatic for "but heavy-handed as he is, and seeing that we are here (in his power), he will not scruple to deal with us as he pleases."

Occasionally the translation suggests wrong implications, as, e.g., in the following passage (p. 194) (which I shall break up), where one gets the impression of medieval witchcraft instead of Germanic heathenism: "men who dabbled in the black art" (*þá var í Stöpið ung kristni; vöru þar margir menn, þeir er fóru með forneskju*), better: "men who practised the old heathen rites"; "King Inge was a good Christian and all sorcerers were anathema to him" (*Ingi konungr var vel kristinn maðr ok vöru honum leiðir allir forneskjumenn*), better: "King Ingi was a staunch Christian, and all those who practised the old heathendom were loath to him"; "when fault was found with their barbaric habits" (*stórbændr kurruðu illa, er um var vandat óstðu þeirra*), better: "with their evil (heathen) ways."

Some inadvertences and slips noted: *ællar þú eigi þat, Sveinn, at okkr muni nú ekki verða mein at Olvi ok Frakok kerlingu þeirri er til einkis er fær?* is rendered: "that neither of us will come to harm from Olvir and that good-for-nothing hag Frakok" (p. 263). More correctly: "that old woman who isn't capable of doing us any harm"; in *þetta er af hesti, enn eigi af meri*, of course a stallion is referred to, not a horse (p. 268); *hafði iiii skip ok tultiga* (not *tultugu*) *menn*, "a hundred men"; *snekkjur* should not be translated "snakeships" (p. 317), but "fast-sailing ships," for *dreki* and *snekkja* were well differentiated; *mikill fyrir sér* is hardly "of strong character" (p. 217) but rather "outstanding," whether through wealth or strength.

There are certain well-recognized stylistic features of Old Norse which have no place in English. Thus the superlative frequently has only elative force. We read (p. 150) that "Earl Thorfinn . . . was the tallest and strongest of men"; (p. 141) that "Einar (the earl of a small group of islands) became the greatest of chiefs" and that he was "of all men the most keen-sighted" (among a population of mariners), when all that is meant is that Thorfinn was a man of great height and strength, etc. Often Old Norse has a preterite form where we should use

the pluperfect. Thus, e.g., *enn er þeir kómu til Bjergynjar, var þar fyrir Haraldr konungr* should not be rendered "now when they came to Bergen King Harald was there before them" (p. 247) but "had got there before them." Conversely, the Old Norse pluperfect is not always the equivalent of that tense in English. *Var þar kominn Þorfinnr jarl* is not "Earl Thorfinn had arrived" (p. 184) but "was indeed there." Another important feature of Old Norse prose is the extensive use of the historic present for vivid narrative.<sup>3</sup> In English, however, this usage is restricted rather to summaries of plots and is apt to have a colloquial, even burlesque, effect if overdone. Let the reader judge for himself when perusing a passage like that on page 153.

Taylor has wisely endeavored to steer clear of the 'Wardour street style' of William Morris and his ilk; but isn't it time to abolish the second person singular, especially in conjunction with modern locutions? E.g., "thou gottest no good out of it" (p. 179); "knowest thou not that thy nearest of kin have no fancy for such men as I (viz., am!)" (p. 195 and *passim*).

Coming now to the verse translations, certainly the introductory chapter (pp. 122 f., 128 f.) on that feature is the least valuable in the whole book. The amount of misinformation is all the stranger since a list of "good short accounts in English on skaldic poetry" is furnished (p. 116), and the author could surely have drawn also on other dependable treatises. Thus it is entirely misleading to tell the layman that the metrical pattern of *Dróttkvætt* is trochaic trimeter. *Skothending* has of course nothing whatsoever to do with alliteration. The metrical analysis of a stanza (p. 122) is demonstrably wrong and misleading. *Kviðuháttir* certainly is not "the metre of the old lays and of Old English epic." And, by the way, only Oddi hinn lítli's two stanzas in chap. 88 are in this metre, those of Ingimar and Eric (chaps. 62, 78) being in *fornyrðislag*! Where Hall's collaboration with Earl Rognvald in the composition of *Háttalykkil* is referred to (p. 269), read "five stanzas," instead of "five verses" for each metre (*fimm vísur með hverjum hatti*).

One therefore approaches the translation of the abundant

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the recent study by W. Lehmann, *Das Praesens historicum in den Islendingasögur*, 1939. Reviewed in *Language* (1941), vol. 17, pp. 74-76.

metrical material with misgivings and must only too readily agree with Taylor that "the reader must not imagine that the rugged rhythm and diffuse stanza form" adopted by him "in any way represent the pregnant and polished verses of the Icelandic court poets." It is not necessary to hold the view that at least an attempt should be made to approximate the verse form of the original, to demand that at least the contents be rendered according to the best authorities available. As a matter of fact, Taylor is completely unaware that both Finnur Jónsson's text and method of interpretation of skaldic poetry have in recent years been subjected to severe criticism and that many valuable suggestions and improvements have been made since his collection was published. However, even in stanzas where it is dependable, a certain inability to do justice to formal and stylistic elements interferes with a satisfactory version of many stanzas. Take Arnór jarlaskald's helming, *Skj.* 5, 2. This is rendered by Taylor, p. 169:

In winter (the serpent-slayer)  
Rognvald's fair princely son  
Drank deep the malt flood.  
Then did the Peerless One  
Show forth his glory.

Five lines for four of the original, and rugged going at that! I cannot discover in it any correspondence to "fair princely son," nor to any "Peerless One," nor to "glory." Why not, much more simply and literally:

All the 'serpent-slayer' (i.e., winter) through  
the excellent son of Rognvald  
drank the flood-of-the-mash (i.e., the ale)—  
great wealth showed then the lord.

Or if, like the present reviewer, one be unalterably convinced that some approximation to the verse form and rhythm of the original should be attempted—and not much more obscurely:

Throughout the 'serpent-slayer'  
the son of Earl Rognvald  
took deep draughts of the mash-flood—  
then dealt out great riches.

And so in a great number of instances there is no gain, whether

in readability or rhythm, although the metrical scheme is flung to the winds and a kind of free verse substituted.

Now as to that thorny problem, the bogie of translators from Old Norse, the handling of names! I have no fault to find with Taylor's wishing at least to translate the nicknames. Only, then one must find the best obtainable explanation; and here, again, we must frequently take exception.<sup>4</sup> 'Nosey-Hroif' (*Hrólfr nefju*) is most unfortunate, 'nosey' chiefly implying 'prying.' I suggest 'Big-nose.' 'Eystein Rattle' (*glumra*) is rendered better by Dasent as 'Eystein the noisy.'—'Thorir Tree-beard' (*tréskegg*) should of course be 'Wooden- (i.e., Stiff-)beard.'—'Alofa Harvest-heal' (*árþót*) might better be rendered by 'the Harvest-giver.'—*Gilli Krist* should consistently be translated 'Servant of Christ' (Old Irish *gilli* meaning 'servant'); unless one wishes to give the modern form, Gilchrist.—*Erlingr skakki* appears as 'Crick-neck.' Now the Century Dictionary defines 'crick' as a spasmodic affection of the muscles, as of the neck or back, making it difficult to move the part. Hence 'Wry-neck' is preferable, and Dasent had it so.—*Kyrþinga-Ormr* is of course 'Orm the Weakling,' not 'Wrinkly-Orm.'—*Guthormr Mjölukollr* has been strangely transformed to 'Melþpate,' whereas the exact translation would be 'Flour-pate.' But most likely it is only 'the Man from the Island of Mel.'—And so one might go on.

Whether proper names should be translated or left unchanged, or given in their English form, is difficult to decide. Yet consistency should be striven for. If, e.g., *Guðifreyr* is rendered by Godfrey, then why not Howard for *Hávarðr*, Reynold for *Rognvaldr*, Harold for *Haraldr*, Oliver for *Olver*, Hardecanute for *Hqrðaknútr*?

Most difficult of all to handle are geographical names. Here Taylor sets up the principle that they should be rendered by their present English equivalents. That is satisfactory, on the whole, for the Northern lands, but gets one into difficulty elsewhere. E.g., there is much mention in the saga of *Miklagarth*, the famous capital of the East Roman Empire, which name is used in all saga literature. But when one hears *Istanbul*, that

<sup>4</sup> At least Lind's work, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn* should have been available.



suggests the City of the Golden Horn, a forest of slim minarets, bazaars, Turks with red fezzes, the Seraglio—in other words, falsifies the impression that should be given. Even so, consistency is not attained. Why not *Akka* for the historic *Acre*, *Kreta* for *Crete*, *Smaalenene*, *Akershus*, and *Jarlsberg Amt* for *Viken*, to mention only a few? A form like *Puglia* for *Apulia* seems a mere affectation of correctness. In such forms as *Mære* (wrongly given *passim* as *Møren*), *Seløer*, I doubt whether the character ø is advisable for English readers.

Finally, I cannot agree with Taylor on the best way of rendering what he calls technical terms, such as *bóndi*, *hqlðr*, *gæðingr*. Inasmuch as these terms were not defined with great preciseness in the Old North, it would seem to me that 'farmer, freeholder' for *bóndi*, 'franklin' or 'yeoman' for *hqlðr*, and 'baron' for *gæðingr* would be preferable to the foreign terms, which, besides being rather awkward, carry no meaning to the English reader.

## GRUNDTVIG'S FIRST TRANSLATION FROM BEOWULF

FRANKLIN COOLEY  
*University of Maryland*

OF all the translations of *Beowulf* perhaps the most important from a historical point of view is that by Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, Danish man of letters, churchman, scholar, and controversialist extraordinary. No other translation—if, indeed, 'paraphrase' is not the better term for this free but spirited performance—has been of so much help to scholars in elucidating the poem. The plan to translate *Beowulf* began to take form in Grundtvig's mind the moment he realized the insufficiency, to be as charitable as possible, of Thorkelin's Latin translation.<sup>1</sup> It was an impulsive resolve, as he knew no Old English in 1815, and it needed Thorkelin's twitting, Bülow's urging, and Rask's help before he finally published the complete translation in 1820, *Bjovulfs Drape, et Gothisk Helle-digt fra forrige Aar-tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske Riim*. What he had estimated in 1815 as a task for six months was not finished for five years. Before the appearance of the complete translation, however, he published several fragments. The first, a translation of the first fifty-two lines of the poem, he did as a result of his delight in his discovery of the sea-burial of Scyld, which Thorkelin and all others who had handled the poem had misinterpreted. Other fragments appeared in *Dannevirke*, 4 (1819), as an earnest to Bülow and his friends that he had not forgotten his task. All these specimens of translation show significant differences from the 1820 version.

The earliest fragmentary translation, that of the first fifty-two lines, appeared in *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn* for July 29, 1815, in the first installment of the article on Thorkelin's edition. It shows the measure of Grundtvig's understanding of this part

<sup>1</sup> See my article, "Early Danish Criticism of Beowulf," *A Journal of English Literary History*, VII (March, 1940), pp. 55 ff. At about the same time Grundtvig, wearied by political and religious controversy, engaged upon a series of translations dealing with the ancient history and traditions of the North. He delighted in Saxo and Snorri for much the same reason that he was attracted to *Beowulf*, and he translated them for the same purpose: he hoped in that way to revitalize Danish national life.

of the poem at that time. He was the first person to discern the beauty of the picture of Scyld's ship-burial, but, to mention only one thing, he refused to recognize the presence of the first Beowulf. In this respect, at least, Thorkelin was superior. The translation follows:

Om Drotterne strage  
 Fra forrige Dage,  
 Som Stol-Konge-Sæder  
 Beklædte med Hæder  
 I Dannemarks Land;  
 Om Kjæmperne stolte,  
 Som Heltedaad voldte,  
 Jeg kvæder forsand.

Nu først er at melde  
 Om Skefingen Skjold,  
 Han kjæmped med Vælde,  
 Den Herre saa bold,  
 Med Fienderne mange  
 Om Borge og Vange,  
 Og Seier han vandt.  
 Hans Mod og hans Rige  
 De voxde tillige,  
 Som Aarene randt;  
 Hans Hæder og Lykke

De voxde forsand,  
 Saa alle som bygge  
 Trindt Hvalernes Land,  
 Ham maatte adlyde,  
 Og neiende yde  
 Ham Gilde og Skjænk.  
 Det end er at mærke  
 Om Kongen saa god,  
 At Kjæmperne stærke  
 Udsprang af hans Blod,  
 Og hannem til Ære  
 Evindeligen bære  
 De Skjoldunge-Navn.

Den Herre, som kjendte  
Al Dannemarks Brøst,  
Slig Konge didsendte  
Til Dannemænds Trøst,  
Og undte ham længe  
Paa Konninge-Stoel  
At see over Enge  
Den straalende Soel.  
Paa Konninge-Sæde  
Han skifted med Glæde  
Klenodier fine  
Blandt Kjæmperne sine;  
Ei stædte han ilde  
Den herlige Skjænk,  
Thi Kjæmperne gilde  
Ham loved paa Bænk,  
Og fulgde med Gammen  
Den Herre saa prud,  
Og Skjoldunge-Stammen  
Med herlige Skud  
Saa høit under Lide  
Sig bredte saa vide,  
Saa faver i Lund.

Saa Kongerne lære  
Med Guld og med Ære  
Sig Kjæmperne bedste  
At vinde og fæste!  
Da trofast de Gamle  
Sig trindt dem forsamle  
Paa Uveirets Dag,  
Omgjærde saa bolde  
Med blinkende Skjolde  
Den Herre i Slag.  
Ei Guldets Udskifter  
Kan trives i Sal  
Naar Heltebedrifter  
Ei voxe paa Val.

Der Skjold var hængangen  
 I Døden til Roe,  
 Sig flokked i Vangen  
 En Skare saa troe.  
 Saa toge i Hande  
 De kjærlige Svende  
 Det Liig af Kong Skjold;  
 Til Stranden de bare  
 I sorgelig Skare  
 Den Herre saa bold;  
 De Liget udførde,  
 Som selv han befoel,  
 Mens Tungen han rørde  
 Paa Konningestoel,  
 Og styred med Blide  
 De Lande saa vide,  
 Saa mangan god Dag.

Saa toge de Kjække  
 Den Konninge-Snekke  
 Med ringprude Stavn,  
 Som klar til at seile,  
 Med skinnende Speile  
 Laae færdig i Havn.  
 Saa gave de Skibet  
 Den Herre i Favn  
 Som førde i Livet  
 Det favreste Navn;  
 Ved Masten de satte  
 Den Elskedes Liig,  
 Og gav ham af Skatte  
 En Skjoldborg saa riig,  
 At neppe en Sage  
 Jeg hørde om Mage  
 Til Skat og til Skib.

Hos Konninge-Kaaben  
 Laae alle Slags Vaaben;

De Øxer saa stærke  
Og Brynie-Særke.  
Klenodier mange  
Ham lagdes i Favn,  
Paa Farten hin lange  
De skulde i Stavn  
Paa brusende Bølge  
Med Stolkongen følge.  
Udstyre Man vilde  
Den Herre fra Land,  
Med Gaver saa gilde,  
Som da over Strand  
Han underlig drevet  
Af Herren var blevet  
Til Dannemarks Land.

Nu Flaget hint fagre  
Den Skare saa bold  
Lod stadselig flagre  
Alt over Kong Skjold;  
Saa maatte med Kvide  
De Snekken forlove,  
Og lade den skride  
For Vind og for Vove.  
Bort seiled den Snekke  
Paa Bølgerne blaa,  
Lod Helte i Række  
Paa Strandbredden staae  
Med Suk og med Klage;  
Kom aldrig tilbage,  
Ja, Ingen med Sande  
Kan sige han veed  
Hvorvidt over Strande  
Den Snekke henskreed,  
Om bjerget og fundet  
Blev Stol-Kongens Liig,  
Om Nogen blev undet  
Den Ladning saa riig.

## SWEDISH ADVERBS OF THE TYPE *BORTA*, *UPPE*

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST  
The University of Nebraska

IN OUR textbooks we read that certain adverbs ending in *-a*, *-e* and denoting 'place where,' are formed from adverbs denoting 'place to which,' as *bort:borta*, *upp:uppe*.

Concerning these, N. Linder<sup>1</sup> gives this additional information:

I synnerhet i poesi förekommer ofta utbyte av *in* mot *inne*, *upp* mot *uppe*, *ut* mot *ute* o.s.v. Ex. "... Högt upp i luften lärkorna sjunga."—Allmänt nyttjas uttrycken "tre trappor upp," "in på gården," såväl när man avser befintlighet som rörelse.

And Natanael Beckman,<sup>2</sup> discussing comparison, says:

Några adverb, som icke sammanfalla med adjektiv i n., kunna kompareras. . . . Några få omskriva komparativen, ehuru positiv och superlativ uttryckas genom ett ord. Sådana äro *inne* och *ute*. Ex. *Han står där inne*. *Nu är han ändå längre in*. *Se där allra innerst* (eller *längst in*).<sup>3</sup>

Olof Östergren,<sup>4</sup> under *borta*, gives the comparative as "ibl. 'längre bort'" and the superlative as "'längst bort(a)' l. 'borterst.'" Under *framme* he gives comp. *längre fram*, sup. *främst* or *längst framme*,<sup>5</sup> under *inne*, comp. *längre in*, sup. *innerst*,<sup>6</sup> under *nere*, comp. *längre ned*, sup. *nederst*.<sup>7</sup>

Linder's comment calls attention to three interesting types of exceptions. Save for the incomplete treatment of the superlative, the statements of Beckman and Östergren are correct, from the point of view of the comparison of such adverbs.

<sup>1</sup> *Regler och råd angående svenska språkets behandling i tal och skrift*<sup>3</sup> (Stockholm, 1908), §98, 1, Anm.

<sup>2</sup> *Svensk språklära*<sup>3</sup> (Stockholm, 1935), §170.

<sup>3</sup> Also *längst inne* is used. *Längst inne i klyftan satt ett gammalt troll*. . . .

<sup>4</sup> *Nusvensk ordbok* (Stockholm, 1915- ).

<sup>5</sup> Also *längst fram* is used. *Sten och Karl-Olof slodo tyst drömmande längst fram i fören*.

<sup>6</sup> Also *längst in* and *längst inne* are used. *En kroglokal. Lågt i taket, halvmörkt, två lampor brinna längst in*. For an example with *längst inne*, see footnote 3.

<sup>7</sup> Also *längst ned* and *längst nere* are used. *Endast längst ned såg jag herrar och damer till häst*. . . . *Och allra längst nere vid köksdörren satt ännu en och spann*.

But let us consider another aspect of these words.<sup>8</sup>

Both the positive *långt* and the superlative *längst* are, when 'place where' is denoted, followed by either *bort* or *borta*,<sup>9</sup> *fram* or *framme*, *in* or *inne*, *ned* (*ner*) or *nere*, *upp* or *uppe*, *ut* or *ute*.<sup>10</sup> (The matter does not concern *hem:hemma*.) *Långt bort reste sig ett hus. Hedes gård Munkhyttan låg i en fattig skogssocken långtorta i Västerdalarna. Där var hans värdinnas namn, längst ned . . . . Längst nere vid porten stod en man. . . .*

The comparative *längre*, on the other hand, is followed by the short forms: *bort*, *fram*, *in*, *ned* (*ner*), *upp*, *ut*.<sup>11</sup> *Finns det bro över än längre upp?*

After *högt*, *högre*, *högst* we find the same situation, except that these are used only with *upp*, *uppe*. Thus the positive and superlative are followed by either *upp* or *uppe*, while the comparative is followed by *upp*. *Högt upp i en liten lucka tittade ett ansikte. Högt uppe vid taket satt en amorin. . . . Vi bodde i ett stort hus, högst upp. Vid dombordet högst uppe i rummet sitter en gammal häradsbörding. . . . Men en trappa högre upp är en stor vind. . . .*

Finally, also *djupt* belongs in the same category although, except for sentences illustrating *djupast nere*, I have as yet met examples only with the positive, the adverbs used being *ned* (*ner*), *nere*, *in*, *inne*. *Stå med fötterna djupt ned i jorden*.<sup>12</sup> *Men nu hördes det gurgla djupt nere i hans strupe. . . . Östergren, op. cit., under in*, says: "*djupt in i skogen även = inne i*."

<sup>8</sup> Östergren, *op. cit.*, especially under *fram*, *in*, *ned*, does not overlook the general situation described in the following, but he necessarily treats the matter from the lexicographical view-point, and the presentation is neither complete nor uniform.

<sup>9</sup> So also Östergren, with reference to the superlative; see above.

<sup>10</sup> I have no example with *längst ut*.

<sup>11</sup> While occurrences with the comparative are far fewer than are those with the positive and the superlative, my materials contain sentences illustrating all six adverbs and seem to justify the conclusion stated, which, furthermore, is in accord with the statements of Beckman and Östergren quoted above. I have, however, once met *längre bort*: *. . . det är inte längre bort, än att. . .*

<sup>12</sup> Cited by Östergren, *op. cit.*, under *ned*.



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## SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCES IN THE WRITINGS OF THOREAU

### PART II

#### THOREAU'S INTEREST IN THE NORTHMEN

ADOLPH B. BENSON  
*Yale University*

MOST cultured Americans of the middle of the past century took some interest, romantic or historical, active or passive, in the Northmen. This was especially true of the New Englanders, and their particular phase of it—often a real hobby—was, quite naturally, the alleged discovery of the New England coast by the Norsemen. Thoreau in his manifold pursuits was no exception to the general trend of interest so far as the Norse discoverers were concerned; in fact, with the possible exception of Longfellow, who, as we know, used the Old Norse sagas as a basis for creative poetry, it is doubtful whether any of the more prominent American writers of his time was more enthusiastic about the Ancient Vikings and their achievements than Henry David Thoreau. In his student days he had listened to Longfellow's lectures on "Northern" literatures; in his *Journal* he quotes page after page from the voluminous *Heimskringla*, with or without personal comment; he knows the *Prose Edda* well; occurrences and observations in daily life often remind him of some parallel, person, or comparison in the history of the Northmen; and, apparently, he talked about the Ancient Scandinavians to others. Annie Russell Marble, about fifty years ago, penned this about Thoreau:

Frequently, he came into town [from Walden] to have dinner or tea with his own household or at the home of Emerson, Alcott, or Hosmer. At the latter hearth-side he spent Sunday evenings, returning the visit which the former and

some of his family always paid Thoreau Sunday afternoons. Miss Jane Hosmer kindly narrated to me her memories of these visits when, as a child, she accompanied her father to the famous little lodge, scrupulously neat, where Thoreau sat at his desk, her father in an adjacent chair, and the children on 'the bunk,' listening, not always with patience, to the extended discussions on philosophy or *Scandinavian mythology*. As a result, she gained her primal instruction in that branch so that, in later years, she found herself compelled to translate Greek and Roman myths into her earlier models of Thor, Woden, and Idrasil.<sup>1</sup>

But let us at once mention a few miscellaneous first-hand evidences of Thoreau's interest in Norse mythology and the Northmen.—Speaking of spring, for instance, Thoreau the nature-lover is reminded of the relative abilities of Thor and Thaw. "Thaw with his gentle persuasion is more powerful than Thor with his hammer," says the American student of Norse religion. "The one melts, the other but breaks in pieces."<sup>2</sup> Traveling, October 6, 1851, Thoreau finds "the reach of the river between Bedford and Carlisle," not only celestial but "like a milk-pan full of *milk of Valhalla* [mead(?)] partially skimmed," etc.<sup>3</sup> October 26th of the same month he writes: "Last evening I was reading [Samuel] Laing's account of the Northmen,<sup>4</sup> and though I did not write in my Journal, I remember feeling a fertile regret, and deriving even an inexpressible satisfaction, as it were, from my ability to feel regret, which made that evening feel richer than those which had preceded it."<sup>5</sup> On November 6th he notes in his *Journal* that while in Quebec he had on his "bad-weather-clothes" like Olaf Trygvesson, the Northman, when he went to Thing in England."<sup>6</sup> The last reference shows that Thoreau had read Chapter XXXIII of King Olaf Trygvason's Saga, in which

<sup>1</sup> *Thoreau, His Home, Friends and Books*, New York, 1902, pp. 129-130. The italics are my own.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Riverside Press, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906, II (*Walden*), p. 341. All references are to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, edited by Bradford Terry, III, pp. 47-48. The italics are my own.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the so-called "Preliminary Dissertation" to his edition of the *Heimskringla; or Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, Part I, pp. 1-261. For convenience I have referred to Laing's edition of *The Sagas of the Norse Kings*, I-IV, edited by Rasmus B. Anderson, London, 1889. All references are to this edition. The edition used by Thoreau had appeared in 1844.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

it is related how Queen Gyda at a Thing, instead of choosing Alfoine, who was dressed in his best clothes, chose Olaf, who had appeared in "his bad-weather-clothes, and a coarse overgarment."<sup>7</sup> This story would appeal strongly to Thoreau.

When urging his readers to observe the laws of nature in eating slowly, in allowing life to be a "leisurely progress,—even in guest-quarters," Thoreau is reminded somehow that "the old Northmen kings did in fact board round [leisurely] a good part of the time, as schoolmasters sometimes with us."<sup>8</sup> As he, in January 1852, records his observations of the local hauling of mill-logs, his thoughts turn toward the Early Scandinavians. "After reading of the life and battles of the Northmen in Snorro Sturleson's Chronicle," says Thoreau, "these labors [of hauling logs] most remind me of that.—These men, too, who are sledging wood and sawing the logs into lengths in the woods, appear to me employed more after the old Northman fashion than the mechanics in their shops or the merchants behind their counters."<sup>9</sup> Two days later, the sailors he observed recall to Thoreau that "To seagoing men the very mountains are but boats turned upside down, as the Northmen in Norway speak of the 'keel-ridge' of the country, i.e., the ridge of the mountains which divide the waters flowing east and west—as if they were a boat turned bottom up."<sup>10</sup> Again, the West is to young Americans as the sea to Scandinavians. "There in the West is the home of the younger sons, as among Scandinavians they took to the sea for their inheritance."<sup>11</sup>

When describing his impressions of Cape Cod, Thoreau, from

<sup>7</sup> Laing-Anderson, *Sagas of the Norse Kings*, II, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 182.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201, and *Journal*, IV, p. 353.

The name of the chain or ridge of mountains between Sweden and Norway is, as most readers know, called *Kölen*, lit., 'the keel.' Thoreau received his idea and information from Samuel Laing, who in addition to editing the *Sagas of the Norse Kings* also published some good travel books on the Scandinavian countries, such as *Journal of a Residence in Norway*, 1836, and *A Tour in Sweden in 1838, 1839*. Thoreau undoubtedly knew these well.

<sup>11</sup> Article on "Walking," 1862. *Excursions*, illustrated by Clifton Johnson, 1913, p. 175.

his visits of 1849, 1850, 1852, and 1855, is, once more, reminded of the seafaring Northmen and the keel-like mountains of the Scandinavian peninsula:

To the fishermen, the Cape itself is a sort of storeship laden with supplies,—a safer and larger craft which carries the women and children, the old men and the sick, and indeed sea-phrases are as common on it as on board a vessel. Thus is it ever with a seagoing people. The old Northmen used to speak of the 'keel-ridge' of the country, that is, the ridge of the Doffrafield Mountains, as if the land were a boat turned bottom up. I was frequently reminded of the Northmen here. The inhabitants of the Cape are often at once farmers and sea-rovers; they are more than vikings or kings of the bays, for their sway extends over the open sea also.<sup>12</sup>

Thoreau seems interested not only in Northmen in the narrower sense, but in other Scandinavians and in other sundry inhabitants, events, and conditions of the Northern countries. While making observations on the shores of Cape Cod he remembers reading about the subject of driftwood in Greenland, and so proceeds to emphasize, by inference, the importance of this source of fuel and lumber, its kind and character, its uses, and the unique manner of its legal acquisition.<sup>13</sup>—As early as 1843 the American naturalist, in "A Winter Walk," had referred to Greenland, Lapland, and "Spitzbergers," and had remarked that the [winter] day was "but a Scandinavian night." The same year, on October 1, he had written from Staten Island about watching Norwegian immigrants "going up the city for the first time; Norwegians, who carry their old-fashioned farming-tools to the West with them, and will buy nothing here for fear of being cheated."<sup>14</sup>—Again, on Cape Cod, he calls to mind, from reading in the Naturalists' Library, that in the winter of 1809–1810 one thousand one hundred and ten black-fish [a kind of small whale] "approached the shore of Hvalfiord, Iceland, and were captured." It was not known why they were stranded.<sup>15</sup>—Writing of the human need for house, home, and sundry comforts, Thoreau compares these modern necessities with those of the Laplander:

<sup>12</sup> *Writings*, IV, "Cape Cod and Miscellanies," p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>14</sup> F. B. Sanborn, *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, 1894, pp. 130–131.

<sup>15</sup> *Writings*, IV, p. 146.

Samuel Laing says that 'the Laplander in his skin dress, and in a skin bag which he puts over his head and shoulders, will sleep night after night on the snow . . . in a degree of cold which would extinguish the life of one exposed to it in any woollen clothing.' He had seen them sleep thus. Yet he adds, 'they are not harder than other people.'<sup>16</sup>

These examples will illustrate the breadth of Thoreau's interest in the Scandinavian North.—But to return to the Northmen in particular.

The following quotation from Laing, by Thoreau, is, at the time of writing, 1940, of some significance, not only because of the American's implied acceptance of Laing's views concerning the Northmen, but because of his seemingly uncalled-for postscript comparing the French Canadians with the Ancient Scandinavians.

Samuel Laing, in his essay on the Northmen, to whom especially rather than the Saxons, he refers the energy and indeed the excellence of the English character, observes that, when they occupied Scandinavia, 'each man possessed his lot of land without reference to, or acknowledgment of, any other man, without any local chief to whom his military service or other quit-rent for his land was due,—without tenure from, or duty or obligation to, any superior, real or fictitious, except the general sovereign. The individual settler held his land, as his descendants in Norway still express it, by the same right as the King held his crown, by *udal* right, or *adel*,—that is noble right.' The French have occupied Canada, not *udally*, or by noble right, but *feudally*, or by ignoble right. They are a nation of peasants.<sup>17</sup>

Discussing wild apples in literature, in his article on this favorite fruit of his, Thoreau first notes that "The apple tree has been celebrated by the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and *Scandinavians*."<sup>18</sup> Then he elaborates, giving an explanation which was perhaps not so well known in his generation as it is today:

According to the *Prose Edda* 'Iduna keeps in a box the apples which the gods, when they feel old age approaching, have only to taste of to become young again. It is in this manner that they will be kept in renovated youth until Ragnarök' (or the destruction of the gods).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Writings*, II, pp. 29–30. I have thus far been unable to locate this quotation in Laing's works, but I have no doubt whatever that it is genuine.

<sup>17</sup> Thoreau, *Writings*, V, p. 82. Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 59. The original has *odel* instead of *adel*.

<sup>18</sup> *Writings*, V, p. 291. The italics are mine.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* Note Thoreau's translation of *Ragnarök*.

Later Thoreau, with a touch of humor, applies the Old Norse mythologico-horticultural reference and method to modern conditions. Optimistically he asks: "Are not these [apples of today] still Iduna's apples, the taste of which keeps the gods forever young? And think you that they will let Loki or Thjassi carry them off to Jotunheim, while they grow wrinkled and gray? No, for Ragnarök, or the destruction of the gods, is not yet."<sup>20</sup>

Once at least Thoreau, studying the *Saga of Magnus the Good*, makes a didactic, Rousseauian comparison between the bold but bloody heroes of the past and the allegedly more anaemic, spineless characters of his own day. Under the date of January 17, 1852, while discussing on paper the so-called Littleton Giant, he first relates his opinion and then illustrates from the saga:

Those old Northmen were not like so many men in these days, whom you can pass your hand through because they have not any backbone. When Asmund [Grankelson] was going to kill Harek of Thiottö [Thiotta] with a thin hatchet, King Magnus [Olafson] said, 'Rather take this axe of mine.' It was thick and made like a club. 'Thou must know, Asmund,' added he, 'that there are hard bones in the old fellow.' Asmund struck Harek on the head, and gave him his death-wound, but when he returned to the King's house, it appeared that 'the whole edge of the axe was turned with the blow.'<sup>21</sup>

In February 1852, Thoreau, among other speculations, amused himself by attempting to connect his family name, etymologically and genealogically, with that of some famous character in the Norse sagas, whose name, like his own, began with *Thor*. So, on the fifteenth of the month he gets a brilliant idea and suggests facetiously, "Perhaps I am descended from that Northman named 'Thorer the Dog-footed.' Thorer Hund—'he was the most powerful man in the North'—to judge from his name, belonged to the same family. Thorer is one of the most, if not the most common name in the chronicles of the Northmen.'<sup>22</sup> Since, in fact, there were at least twenty different

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296. See also *Prose Edda*, Chap. XXVI, and *Skáldskaparmál*, I.

<sup>21</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 203. Also, see *Saga of Magnus the Good*, Chap. XIII. Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, III, p. 308.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 304.

There are over twenty references to Thorer Hund in the *Heimskringla*. See

Thorers, Thoreau might well, conceivably, without jesting, be descended from one of them. In any event, the New Englander gleefully set to work and finally brought out the following "proof" of his Old Norse ancestry. It is found in full in the *Saga of Harald Harfager*, Chapter XXIV. We quote *verbatim* both Thoreau and the saga:

Snorro Sturleson says, 'From Thor's name comes Thorer, also Thorarinn.' Again: 'Earl Rognvald was King Harald's dearest friend, and the king had the greatest regard for him. He was married to Hild(a), a daughter of Rolf N(a)efia, and their sons were Rolf and Thorer . . . Rolf became a great viking and was of so stout a growth that no horse could carry him, and wheresoever he went he must go on foot; and therefore he was called Gange-Rolf.' (Laing says in a note, what Sturleson also tells in the text, Gange-Rolf, Rolf Ganger, Rolf the Walker, was the conqueror of Normandy).—'Gange-Rolf's son was William, father to Richard, and grandfather to another Richard, who was the father of Richard Longspear, and grandfather of William the Bastard, from whom all the following English kings are descended.'

So much for the descendants of one branch of the family. Then Thoreau proceeds with the other:

King Harald 'set Earl Rognvald's son Thorer over Möre, and gave him his daughter Alof [called Arbot] in marriage. [Earl] Thorer, called the Silent, got the same territory his father Rognvald had possessed.' His brother Einar, going into battle to take vengeance on his father's murderers, sang a kind of reproach against his brothers Rol্লাug [Hrollaug] and Rolf for their slowness and concludes,—

'And silent Thorer sits and dreams  
At home, beside the mead-bowl's streams.'

Of himself it is related that he cut a spread eagle on the back of his enemy Halfdan.

So it seems that from one branch of the family were descended the kings of England, and from the other myself.<sup>23</sup>

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Index on Thorer Hund in Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 402. Besides, there were at least 19 other characters by the name of 'Thorer.'

Apropos of Thoreau's ingenious genealogizing, Annie Russell Marble, in *Thoreau, His Home, Friends and Books*, p. 33, wrote: "In subtle humor, not unmixed with earnest aspiration, he [Thoreau] once suggested that his family might be derived from 'Thorer, the Dog-footed,' of Scandinavian myth, the strongest man of his age."

<sup>23</sup> Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 370-372, 378-379. Names in brackets are omitted in Thoreau. Apparently he confused, either intentionally or unintentionally, Thorer Hund with the dreaming Thorer the Silent, whom he here considers a prototype and forebear of himself. Thoreau, *Journal*, III, pp. 304-305.

Later, being continuously interested in the various Thorers of the sagas, Thoreau mentions Thorer Klakke, "who had been long on Viking expeditions," and Thorer Hiort, who "was quicker on foot than any man," both from the *Olaf Trygvason Saga*,<sup>24</sup> and Thorer, the son of Erling, from the *Saga of King Olaf Haraldson the Saint*.<sup>25</sup> It is said of Erling, quotes Thoreau in this connection, that "both winter and summer it was the custom in his house to drink at the mid-day meal according to measure, but at the night meal there was no measure in drinking."<sup>26</sup> Further, the American Thorer-specialist refers to Thorer Sel of the *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*, who "was a man of low birth, but had swung himself up in the world as an active man,"<sup>27</sup> to Thorer the Low, of the same saga, and, finally, tells the story of the two vagabonds Gauka-Thorer and his brother [Afrafaste], who had joined King Olaf (the Saint's) army. Says Thoreau:

There was a giant of a man named Gauka-Thorer and his brother, who had joined King Olaf's army. The king inquired if they were Christians.

Gauka-Thorer replies, that he is neither Christian nor heathen. 'I and my comrades have no faith but on ourselves, our strength, and the luck of victory; and with this faith we slip through sufficiently well.'

The king replies, 'A great pity it is that such brave slaughtering fellows do not believe in Christ their Creator.'

Thorer replies, 'Is there any Christian man, king, in thy following, who stands so high in the air as we two brothers?'<sup>28</sup>

Then Thoreau comes back to Thorer Hund and relates how in King Olaf's last battle he "hewed at Thorer Hund, and struck him across the shoulders; but the sword would not cut, and it was as if dust flew from his reindeer-skin coat.' There are some verses about it. But Thorer having had a hand in the death of the king, left the country. 'He went all the way to Jerusalem, and

<sup>24</sup> Chapters LI and LXXX, respectively.

<sup>25</sup> Chapter XXV. Thoreau, *Journal*, III, p. 314.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Chapter CXXIII.

<sup>28</sup> *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*, Chap. CCXII. *Journal*, III, pp. 315-316.

For references to the various lesser Thorers see also Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 137-138, 177, 271, and III, pp. 49-50, 223 ff.

Thoreau does not state that the two robber brothers, who were not accepted by King Olaf, nevertheless followed his army and were eventually baptized.



many people say he never came back.' <sup>29</sup>—We suspect that Thoreau took not only a special interest in the Thorer-appellations themselves but derived an unorthodox pleasure in the tale of the vagabond brothers, in their dealings with the saintly monarch. Incidentally, his Thorer-studies, or references, alone indicate how widely Thoreau had read in the *Heimskringla*.

Regarding the aforementioned Thorer the Silent as a sort of literary progenitor of his own meditating self, Thoreau reproduces in his *Journal* a few references to the Northern scalds, who were wont to accompany their royal masters into battle and proclaim, before and after the fray, the military achievements of their lords. He is particularly impressed with Thormod, the scald attached to King Olaf the Saint. On January 15, 1852, he makes this entry in his *Journal*:

I do not know but the poet is he who generates [causes to be made] poems. By continence he rises to creation on a higher level, a supernatural level.

When King Olaf the Saint was about to fight with the bonders<sup>30</sup> to recover his lost kingdom, his scalds, who stood about him, composed songs about the events which would soon be taking place. Thormod's song concluded thus,—

'One viking cheer!—Then, stead of words,  
We'll speak with our death-dealing swords.'

'These songs,' says the chronicler, 'were immediately got by heart by the army.' Surely the scald's office was a significant and honorable one then.

This night the king lay with his army around him on the field,—and lay long awake in prayer to God, and slept but little. Towards morning a slumber fell on him, and when he awoke daylight was shooting up. The king thought it too early to awaken the army, and asked where Thormod the Scald was. Thormod was at hand, and asked what was the king's pleasure. 'Sing us a saga,' said the king. Thormod raised himself up, and sang so loud that the whole army could hear him. He began to sing the old Biarkamal (composed and sung by [Bodvar] Biarke before an old battle).

'Then the troops awoke, and when the song was ended the people thanked him for it; and it pleased many, as it was suitable to the time and occasion, and they called it the house-carle's whet.'<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 316. *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*, Chap. CCXL. See Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 259 ff., and III, p. 307, from the *Saga of Magnus the Good*.

<sup>30</sup> *Bonders* is here the borrowed untranslatable Scandinavian term for 'independent farmer,' with a light touch of the peasant about him and much of the proud yeoman.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal*, III, pp. 191-192; *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*, Chaps. CCXVIII

The following examples quoted in the *Journal* will illustrate further Thoreau's wide reading in the *Heimskringla*, the types of legendary or historical events that interested him the most, and the character of the remarks pertinent in each case to the saga material directly before him. Thoreau preferred to record passages that produced some definite reaction in his own mind; events that automatically, so to speak, elicited a comment or word of wisdom from himself, or evoked in his memory some striking parallel in modern society. So, on February 18, 1852, he relates:

When Eystein the Bad ravaged the land of Drontheim, 'he then offered the people either his slave Thoror Faxe, or his dog, whose name was Sauer, to be their king. They preferred the dog, as they thought they would sooner get rid of him. Now the dog was, by witchcraft, gifted with three men's wisdom; and when he barked, he spoke one word and barked two. A collar and chain of gold and silver were made for him, and his courtiers carried him in their hands when the weather or ways were foul. A throne was erected for him, and he sat upon a high place, as kings are used to sit. . . . It is told that the occasion of his death was that the wolves one day broke into his fold, and his courtiers stirred him up to defend his cattle; but when he ran down from his mound, and attacked the wolves, they tore him to pieces.' Now I think if he had spoken two words and barked only one, he would have been wiser still and never have fallen into the clutches of the wolves.

By some traits in the saga concerning King Hakon the Good, I am reminded of the concessions which some politicians and religionists, who are all things to all men, make. Hakon was unpopular on account of his attempts to spread Christianity, and to conciliate his subjects he drank out of the horn which had been blessed in Odin's name at a festival or sacrifice, but as he drank he made the sign of the cross over it. And one of his earls told the people that he was making the sign of Thor's hammer over it. 'On this,' it is said, 'there was quietness for the evening. The next day, when the people sat down to table, the bonders pressed the king strongly to eat of horse flesh (this was an evidence of paganism); and as he would on no account do so, they wanted him to drink of the soup; and as he would not do this, they insisted that he should at least taste the gravy; and on his refusal they were going to lay hands on him. Earl Sigurd came and made peace among them, by asking the king to hold his mouth over the handle of the kettle, upon which the fat smoke of the boiled horse flesh had settled itself; and the king first laid a linen cloth over the handle, and then gaped over it and returned to the throne; but neither party was satisfied with this.' On another day

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and CCXX; Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 235-237. The song itself is omitted here.

the Earl 'brought it so far that the king took some bits of horse liver, and emptied all the goblets the bonders filled for him.'<sup>22</sup>

In other words, hundreds of years ago, Thoreau means to say, rulers in Scandinavia were compelled to make the same compromises with their subjects that modern presidents, governors, clergymen, and legislators do in America. The principle of human demands remains much the same everywhere throughout the centuries.

In the next quotation Thoreau becomes distinctly didactic, and his clear prefatory statement, incidentally, strikes a singularly responsive chord in the hearts of some thinking people of the Year of our Lord 1940:

Kings are not they who go abroad to conquer kingdoms [asserts Thoreau] but who stay at home and mind their business, proving first their ability to govern their families and themselves. 'King Sigurd Syr was standing in his cornfield when the messengers came to him . . . He had many people on his farm. Some were then shearing corn, some bound it together, some drove it to the building, some unloaded it, and put it in stack or barn; but the king and two men with him went sometimes into the field, sometimes to the place where the corn was put into the barn.' He 'attended carefully to his cattle and husbandry, and managed his housekeeping himself. He was nowise given to pomp and was rather taciturn. But he was a man of the best understanding in Norway.' After hearing the messengers, he replied: 'The news ye bring me is weighty, and ye bring it forward in great heat. Already before now A(a)sta has been taken up much with people who were not so near to her; and I see she is still of the same disposition. She takes this up with great warmth; but can she lead her son out of the business with the same splendor she is leading him into it?'<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Journal*, III, pp. 309 ff. Cf. *Saga of King Hakon the Good*, Chaps. XIII, XVIII, and XIX. Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, II, 16, pp. 24-25, 26.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal*, III, p. 314. *Saga of King Olaf Haraldson the Saint*, Chap. XXXI. Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 282-283.

The "son" here mentioned is King Olaf, who had come to visit his mother, Queen Asta, and his stepfather, King Syr. Asta wished to entertain her son lavishly and sent messengers to her husband Syr, on the cornfield, with fine clothes and riding equipment so that he might in proper dress attend a feast in honor of her royal son, and, in general, comport himself "more in the fashion of great men, and show a disposition more akin to Harald Harfager's race." The sensible King Syr did not believe in this unnecessary expensive ostentation and finally expressed concern about his wife's methods. Was it good for the son, King Olaf, and would he, or his mother, be able to keep it up?

To make his point clearer Thoreau should perhaps here either have quoted

Here, to Thoreau, was the model king and farmer. He also reproduces the following tale from the *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*:

Fate will go all lengths to aid her proteges. When the Swedish king and Olaf, King of Norway, threw lots for the possession of a farm [Hising] "the Swedish king threw two sixes, and said King Olaf need scarcely throw. He replied, while shaking the dice in his hand, 'Although there be two sixes on the dice, it would be easy, sire, for God Almighty to let them turn up in my favor.' Then he threw, and had sixes also. Now the Swedish king threw again, and again had two sixes. Olaf, king of Norway, then threw, and had six upon one dice, and the other split in two, so as to make seven eyes in all upon it; and the farm was adjudged to the king of Norway."<sup>84</sup>

But the sagas that most interested Thoreau were manifestly those dealing with the Norse discovery of America. He was well acquainted with the works of the Danish antiquarian Karl Christian Rafn (1795-1864), and a detailed investigation of his extensive quotations and comments on the Norse expeditions to the Western Continent proves that Rafn was his chief, if not his only, source. Thoreau found his material, of course, in *Antiquitates Americanæ*, which had appeared in Copenhagen in 1837, and especially in the "Abstract of the Historical Evidence" contained therein, which had been published separately in pamphlet form in New York, 1838, under the title "America Discovered in the Tenth Century." The latter was his most convenient source, and his spelling of Icelandic words and names as well as the character of the information about Karlsefni show that he in most cases used this pamphlet. A definite exception to this rule was made when he quoted a translation in Latin. Quite naturally, it is Thoreau's exploration of Cape Cod, the alleged Vinland of the sagas, that calls to mind the previous visits of the Northmen to his native state. Consequently, one day, he records in his diary:

We saw this forenoon [on Cape Cod] what, at a distance, looked like a bleached

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more of the original or explained the family identity and relationship of Asta, the son, and Syr. On the other hand, Asta's desire to entertain the son is quite natural. It is only the exaggerated form of it which Thoreau, by implication, criticizes.

<sup>84</sup> *Saga of King Olaf the Saint*, Chap. XCVII. Laing-Anderson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1-2. Thoreau, *Journal*, III, p. 315.

log with a branch still left on it. It proved to be one of the principal bones of a whale, whose carcass, having been stripped of blubber at sea and cut adrift, had been washed up some months before. It chanced that this was the most conclusive evidence which we met with to prove, what the Copenhagen antiquaries [Rafn *et al.*] assert, that these shores were the *Furdustrandas*, which Thorhall, the companion of Thorfinn during his expedition to Vinland in 1007, sailed past in disgust. It appears that after they had left the Cape and explored the country about Straum-Fiordr (Buzzard's Bay!), Thorhall, who was disappointed at not getting any wine to drink there, determined to sail north again in search of Vinland. Though the antiquaries have given us the original Icelandic, I prefer to quote their translation, since theirs is the only Latin which I know to have been aimed at Cape Cod:

'Cum parati erant, sublato  
velo, cecinit Thorhallus:  
Eo redeamus, ubi conterranei  
sunt nostri! faciamus alitem  
expansi arenosi peritum,  
lata navis explorare curricula:  
dum procellam incitantes gladii  
morae impatientes, qui terram  
collaudant, Furdustrandas  
inhabitant et coquunt balaenas.'

In other words, 'When they were ready and their sail hoisted, Thorhall sang: Let us return thither where our fellow-countrymen are. Let us make a bird [i.e. a vessel] skillful to fly through the heaven of sand [The sea, which is arched over its sandy bottom like a heaven], to explore the broad track of ships; while warriors who impel to the tempest of swords [Battle], who praise the land, inhabit Wonder Strands, and cook whales.' And so he sailed north past Cape Cod, as the antiquaries say, 'and was shipwrecked on to Ireland.'<sup>36</sup>

### Again:

Professor Rafn, of Copenhagen, thinks that the mirage which I noticed, but which an old inhabitant of Provincetown, to whom I mentioned it, had never seen nor heard of, had something to do with the name 'Furdustrandas,' i.e. Wonder Strands, given as I have said, in the old Icelandic account of Thorfinn's expedition to Vinland in the year 1007, to a part of the coast on which he landed. But these sands are more remarkable for their length than for their mirage, which is common to all deserts, and the reason for the name which the Northmen them-

<sup>36</sup> *Writings*, IV, "Cape Cod and Miscellanies," pp. 187-188. "Historia Thorfinni Karlsefni" in *Antiquitates Americanae*, by Charles Christian Rafn, pp. 145-146. The last three brackets are by Thoreau. Incidentally, the material in these brackets shows that Thoreau read, noted, and understood the Old Norse kennings, even though he probably acquired their meaning exclusively through the medium of the Latin. His source (p. 146) explains the kennings in Latin.

selves give—'because it took a long time to sail by them'—is sufficient and applicable to these shores. However, if you should sail all the way from Greenland to Buzzard's Bay along the coast, you would get sight of a good many beaches. But whether Thor-finn saw the mirage here or not, Thor-eau, one of the same family, did; and perchance it was because Leif the Lucky had in a previous voyage, taken Thor-er and his people off the rock in the middle of the sea, that Thor-eau was born to see it.<sup>38</sup>

We perceive here, fortuitously, that Thoreau is a little sceptical about Professor Rafn's explanation of the mirage; but that of the Norsemen, he feels, is not much better. In other words, Thoreau, deep in his mind, reveals a slight critical tendency in his reading—which is to his credit. He does not accept unconditionally either the Old Norse sources or those proclaimed by the rather uncritical and super-enthusiastic Rafn. But his general interest in the discoveries does not wane, and soon he reverts to the subject:

These [descriptions above] are the oldest accounts which we have of Cape Cod, unless, perchance, Cape Cod is, as some suppose, the same with that 'Kial-ar-nes' or Keel-Cape, on which according to old Icelandic manuscripts, Thorwald, son of Eric the Red, after sailing many days southwest from Greenland, broke his keel in the year 1004; and where, according to another, in some respects less trustworthy, manuscript, Thorfinn Karlsefue [Karlsefni] ('that is, one who promises or is destined to be an able or great man; he is said to have had a son [Snorri] born in New England, from whom Thorwaldsen the sculptor was descended) sailing past, in the year 1007, with his wife Gudrida, Snorre Thorbrandson, Biarne Grinolfson [Grimolfson] and Thorhall Gamlason [Gamlason], distinguished Norsemen, in three ships containing 'one hundred and sixty men and all sorts of live stock' (probably the first Norway rats among the rest), having the land 'on the right side' of them, 'roved ashore,' and found 'Or-æfi' [öræfi] (trackless deserts), and 'Strand-ir lang-ar ok sand-ar' (long, narrow beaches and sand-hills), and 'called the shores *Furdu-strand-ir* (Wonder Strands), because the sailing by them seemed long.'

According to the Icelandic manuscripts, Thorwald was the first, then,—unless possibly one Biarne Heriulfson (i.e. son of Heriulf) who had been seized with a great desire to travel, sailing from Iceland to Greenland in the year 986 to join his father who had migrated thither,—for he had resolved, says the manuscript, 'to spend the following winter, like all the preceding ones, with his father,'—being driven far to the southwest by a storm, when it cleared up saw

<sup>38</sup> *Writings*, IV, pp. 191-192. This is another humorous inference, of course, that the author was descended from some Norseman named *Thorer*, because his own name began with *Thor*. Thoreau apparently loved to play with the idea.

the low land of Cape Cod<sup>37</sup> looming faintly in the distance; but this not answering to the description of Greenland, he put his vessel about, and, sailing northward along the coast, at length reached Greenland and his father. At any rate, he may put forth a strong claim to be regarded as the discoverer of the American continent.

These Northmen were a hardy race, whose younger sons inherited the ocean, and traversed it without chart or compass, and they are said to have been 'the first who learned the art of sailing on a wind.' Moreover, they had a habit of casting their door-posts overboard and settling wherever they went ashore. But as Biarne, and Thorwald, and Thorfinn have not mentioned the latitude and longitude distinctly enough, though we have great respect for them as skillful and adventurous navigators, we must for the present remain in doubt as to what capes they did see. We think that they were considerably further north.<sup>38</sup>

Here we have further evidence—for the "we" in the concluding sentence of this quotation is assuredly editorial, with Thoreau as editor—that while the American writer undoubtedly accepted as historical the Norse discovery of the North American continent, he was doubtful about the exact location of the scenes of the Scandinavian adventures. The fact that he believed the temporary Norse settlements to have been located "considerably further north" demonstrates that he did more rational thinking about the matter than some of his more credulous and romanticopatriotic contemporaries, who not only accepted Rafn at full face value but elaborated his theories abundantly from their own imagination. We need not go into details here. The familiar tale about the old "Norse" Tower at Newport, Rhode Island, is generally held to be an example of this imaginative creation based upon a statement by Rafn; and the erection of a statue of Leif Ericson on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston was certainly hastened if not actually motivated by the belief that he had once seen or landed on the Massachusetts coast.

<sup>37</sup> The source does not, of course, in so many words, say anything about Cape Cod: this is Thoreau's inference from his and others' general suppositions about the matter.

<sup>38</sup> *Writings*, IV, pp. 247-249. See also Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanae*, pp. 40 ff. and *America Discovered in the Tenth Century*, pp. 5 ff., especially, pp. 8, 10, 11, 18, 5, in that order. Thoreau here followed the pamphlet very closely. Corrected or added names in brackets are mine. There are, as seen, a few misprints in Thoreau's text, but it is certain that they were *misprints* and not *mistakes*. Thoreau studied and followed his sources very carefully.

To some extent Thoreau, directly or indirectly, may have been influenced in his study of the sagas by that of his English colleagues. He knew of Carlyle's interest in Old Norse poetry,<sup>39</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that British writers were aware of his reading of the saga literature. He apparently corresponded with some of them at least and knew the following writer personally. For example, on April 23, 1861, Thomas Cholmondeley writes to Thoreau:

Have you read any good books lately? I think 'Burnt Njal' good, and believe it to be genuine. 'Hast thou not heard' (says Steintora to Thangbrand) 'how Thor challenged Christ to single combat, and how he did not dare to fight with Thor?' When Gunnar brandishes his sword, three swords are seen in the air.<sup>40</sup>

In conclusion but little needs to be added. Thoreau, obviously, read extensively in the English version of the *Heimskringla*, probably every line of it, together with Laing's lengthy introduction on the Northmen, and, in part at least, the same author's travel books on Scandinavia; he studied Norse mythology in the *Prose Edda*; and read Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanae*, which contained the saga accounts of the Norse discovery of America in Icelandic, Danish, and Latin. He quoted some scaldic poetry in a Latin translation—he was a good Latinist—and a few Icelandic words, although there is no evidence that he actually learned any Scandinavian language. While not vast or profound, perhaps, Thoreau's interest in the Northmen was sensible and genuine, and he was, the present writer believes, more or less consciously attracted by the primitive element in their character and history, by their physical proximity to wild nature, their constant battling against the elements, their veneration of poets, their elemental energy, their frankness, independence, their nautical achievements, their contributions to the English nation, their practical virtues of husbandry (*vide* story of King Syr), their sense of relative values, their religious beliefs and struggles, their geographical discoveries, and, though often marred by cruelties, their battles and extraordinary heroism. Thoreau liked the Northmen, because they had, as he implied, a real backbone.

<sup>39</sup> *Writings*, IV, p. 341.

<sup>40</sup> F. B. Sanborn, *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, pp. 441-442.

*The Story of Burnt Njal*, from the *Njal Saga*, had appeared early in 1861 in a translation by Sir George Webbe Dasent.



# SEMANTIC AND ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON OLD NORSE WORDS PERTAINING TO WAR

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT  
*University of Kansas*

## A. SEMANTIC NOTES

### I. Adjectives Denoting 'Brave, Valiant, Bold,' Etc.

(a) 'Quick, dexterous' > 'brave, bold,' etc.

(1) *Hvatr* 'sharp' > 'quick' > 'brave': cf. OE *hwæt*: OS *hwat*: OHG *hwaz* 'sharp' > 'brave'; cf. also Mod. Eng. *keen*: NHG *kühn* 'bold, brave.'

Conversely, *slær* 'dull, blunt' > 'incapable, cowardly.'

(2) *Snarr*; cf. *snarir vindar* 'fast-blowing winds' (*Hdl.*<sup>1</sup> 44,3): *snør brogþ* 'brave deeds' (*Grp.* 10,3).

There are many adjectives denoting 'quick, swift' which did not acquire the derived sense of 'dexterous' > 'brave.' Such adjectives were applied to swift-moving animals and objects (such as horses, ships) more often than to man and thus remained confined to their original sense of 'quick, swift' (cf. *bráðr*, *fljótr*, *skjótr*, *snafugr*, etc.).

Sometimes an adjective denoting 'swift, quick' acquired the sense of 'skilful' > 'intelligent, wise' (cf. *sviðr*). Conversely, an adjective denoting 'slow, hesitating' could acquire the sense of 'stupid, dull' (cf. *d'ólskr* 'stupid, foolish': *dvelja* 'to delay': Goth. *dwals*, OE-OFris. *dol*, OHG *tol* 'foolish'; cf. Mod. Eng. *slow*: ON *slær* 'dull, blunt' > 'incapable, cowardly' [see a, 1 above]).

(b) 'Brave, valiant' > 'quick'<sup>2</sup>

(1) *Ballr* 'brave, bold': Goth. *balpa-ba* 'bravely': OE *beald*: OS *bald*: OHG-MHG *balt* 'bold, brave' > NHG *bald* 'soon.'

(2) *Ręskr* 'matured, strong' > 'brave': OHG *rasc*<sup>3</sup> 'fiery, brave;

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from the *Elder Edda* are from Gering's fourth edition (1922). In such quotations I have used Gering's *þ* for *ð*, but elsewhere regularly *ð*.

<sup>2</sup> Only the Gic. cognates of these ON adjectives illustrate the semantic shift in question.

<sup>3</sup> It is not certain that ON *ręskr* 'matured, strong' (cf. *ręskvask* 'to mature': *roskinn* 'matured') is cognate with OHG *rasc* (cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.*, p. 881, *Rask* [schnell]; S. Feist, *Vgl. Wtb. der got. Sprache*<sup>3</sup> [1939], p. 213a, *ga-wrisqan*; p. 394b, *\*raps*), but OHG *rasc* illustrates the semantic shift in question.

quick' > MHG *rasch* 'dexterous, quick' > NHG *rasch* 'quick, fast': Mod. Eng. *rash*.

(3) *Snjallr* 'brave': OHG-MHG *snell* 'brave' > NHG *schnell* 'quick': OE *snell* 'quick; bold.'

(c) '*Hard*' > '*brave*'

(1) *Harðr* 'hard' > 'steadfast' > 'undaunted, brave'; cf. as applied to Thor (*Hym.* 32,1); *harþ-hugaþr* (*Þrym.* 31,2).

Conversely, *blautr*: *blauðr* 'soft' > 'cowardly': *kløkkrr* 'weak, yielding, soft' > 'cowardly': *kløkkva* 'to be soft' > 'whimper, whine.'

(d) '*Prominent, excellent*' > '*brave*'

(1) *Rakkr* 'upright, erect' > 'prominent' > 'brave' (cf. *rekkr* 'hero,' B.1 below).

(2) *Framr* 'forward' > 'prominent' > 'bold, brave'<sup>4</sup> (?).

(e) '*Angry, furious*' > '*brave*' (?)

(1) *Vreiðr*. Gering<sup>5</sup> assumes that the adjective *vreiðr* 'wrathful, furious' acquired the sense of 'tapfer, brave' in the following passages of the *Elder Edda* (*Ls.* 15,3; 18,4; 27,4; *Fm.* 7,2; 17,2; 28,2; *Sd.* 27,3). But in these passages I can see nothing to support Gering's contention. The adjective *vreiðr* here undoubtedly connotes the sense of 'brave,' but that it has entirely lost its original sense of 'wrathful, furious' and acquired the sense of 'brave' is extremely doubtful (cf. the standing phrase *hvars skulu/vreiðir vega* [*Fm.* 17,2; 28,2; *Sd.* 27,3], "where furious men [men in the fury of battle] will fight." Has *vreiðir* here lost its original sense of 'furious, wrathful'?).

From the foregoing material it is evident that the idea of 'brave, bold, valiant' could be derived from a basic sense denoting those qualities essential to victory, such as (1) 'dexterity, quickness'; (2) 'steadfastness'; (3) 'superiority'; (4) 'wrath, fury' (?). Some of these adjectives were used as standing epithets

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Frág vóro folkvæg/þaus framr górfi* (*Hdl.* 14,3), "Famous were the battles which the famous, distinguished (= brave?) hero waged." It is doubtful whether the adjective *framr* should here be translated by 'brave,' although this sense is undoubtedly connoted. Of the lexicographers Gering (*Glossar* [1923], s.v., and *Vollständiges Wtb.* [1903], s.v.) is alone in this interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. his *Glossar*, s.v., and *Vollständiges Wtb.*, s.v., and especially Sijmonds-Gering, *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* (1927), I, p. 284 (*Ls.* 15,3). Gering is alone in this interpretation.

for a warrior or hero (cf. *hvatr*, *snarr*, *snjallr*). Adjectives meaning 'brave' occurred far more frequently than did those meaning 'cowardly,' for mention of cowardice was comparatively rare in heroic literature. When the adjective meaning 'cowardly' did occur, it was expressed from the standpoint of 'bravery' (i.e., by means of the litotic-negative particle *ð-* plus the adjective for 'brave,' e.g., *ð-hvatr*, *-snarr*, *-snjallr*) more often than by the simplex adjective denoting 'cowardly' (e.g., *blauðr*, *slær*).

## II. Words for 'Enemy'

Words for 'enemy' are comparatively rare. They may be divided roughly into two semantic groups; viz., those words whose basic sense denoted (a) a hostile attitude connected with 'hatred, ill-will'; 'trouble, injury, pain,' etc., and (b) 'an opponent or adversary in combat.'

(a) 'A hostile attitude' > 'enemy'

(a) 'One who hates' > 'enemy'

(1) *Fjándi*: Goth. *fjands* (and WGic. cognates) 'enemy.'

(2) *Hati*: Goth. *hatjands*<sup>6</sup>: OE *hettend*: *ge-hata* 'enemy.'

(3) *Heipt-mögr* 'man who hates' > 'enemy': *heipt* 'anger, hatred': Goth. *haifts* = *ἀγών* 'strife': OE *hæst* 'violence, enmity.'

(4) *Ó-vinr* 'one who is not a friend; personal enemy' (cf. Lat. *in-imicus*: Mod. Eng. *enemy*), litotic for *fjándi*.

Further semantic parallels are: ON *gramr* 'wrathful, savage, hostile': OE *grama* 'enemy': OE *nīð* 'hatred, strife': *genīð-la* 'enemy'; Grk. *ἐχθρός* 'hostile' > 'enemy.'

(β) 'One who causes trouble, injury, pain' > 'enemy'

(1) *Bági* 'enemy': *bágr* 'troublesome, annoying': *bágr* 'strife, quarrel': OHG *bāga* 'strife, quarrel': *bāgan* 'to quarrel, fight.'

(2) *Stríðir* (in skaldic kennings) 'enemy': *stríðr* 'stern, severe, hard, unpleasant': *stríð* 'grief, pain, sorrow': *stríða* 'to cause grief, pain' > 'to fight.' The basic sense<sup>7</sup> of the root \**stríð-* was probably 'striving against, contrary to'; hence the various senses connected with the idea of 'hostility,' which predominated in WGic. (cf. OS *stridian*: OFris. *strida*: OHG *strīlan* 'to fight'). In

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *hatjandam* Mtt. v. 44; *hatandans* (*hatjandam*, marginal gloss for *fjandam* [A]) Luke vi. 27—*þans hatandans izwis* = *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.*, p. 1180, *Strid*; Neckel, *Glossar*<sup>2</sup> (1936), s.v.

ON the predominating sense was that of 'pain, injury'.<sup>8</sup>

(b) 'Opponent, adversary in combat' > 'enemy'

(1) *Dolgr*<sup>9</sup> 'one who deals wounds' > 'enemy': ON *dolgr*: OE *dolg*: OFris. *dulg*: OHG *tolg* 'wound': ON *dylg-ja* 'enmity.'

(2) *And-skoti* 'one who shoots against' > 'enemy' (cf. OE *wiper-winna*: OHG *widar-winno* 'one who fights against' > 'enemy': Lat. *adversarius*).

It should be noted that in ON there are no words for 'enemy' derived from nouns whose basic sense was 'war,' such as *bǫð*, *guðr*, *hildr* (cf. Grk. *πόλεμος* 'war': *πολέμοι* '[public] enemy'). The words for 'warrior' and 'enemy' were strictly differentiated in sense.

#### B. ETYMOLOGIES

(1) *Skati* 'prince, hero, warrior'

The root \**skat-* in *skat-i* (< \**skat-an*) is undoubtedly identical with the root \**skat-* in ON *skat-a* 'skate-fish' (so-called because of its pointed tail and snout), Norw. dial. *skat* 'tree-top,' and Swed. dial. *skat-e* 'something jutting up or pointed; tree-top; promontory, headland.' The basic sense of the root \**skat-* was therefore probably 'jutting up, towering aloft.' Hence we may assume that the original sense of *skati* was 'one who towers aloft' > 'a lofty, eminent person'<sup>10</sup> > 'prince, hero, warrior.' According to both Falk-Torp<sup>11</sup> and August Fick<sup>12</sup> the root \**skat-* denotes 'hervorspringen, hervorrage,' yet neither authority connects the ON word *skati* with this root. But the transition in sense from 'a towering, tall person' to 'an eminent person; prince, hero, warrior' has other parallels in ON; e.g., *rakkr* (OE *rank*)

<sup>8</sup> Gering (*Glossar*, s.v., and *Vollständiges Wtb.*, s.v.) translates *grǫtír* by 'betrüber, kummerbringer; feind,' but the translation 'feind' is misleading inasmuch as the word *grǫtír* never designates an 'antagonist who brings trouble' as do *bági* and *stríðir*.

<sup>9</sup> *Dolgr* might also be classified under *a*, *β* ('One who causes trouble,' etc.), but since it is connected with the word for 'wound,' I have arbitrarily assigned the word *dolgr* to (b) 'Adversary in combat.'

<sup>10</sup> This sense has already been suggested by Cleasby-Vigfússon (*Icel. Dict.*, s.v.), "a towering, lofty man," and by Ernst Zupitza, *Die germ. Gutturale* (Berlin, 1896), p. 152, "eminenz."

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 988-989, *Skate*.

<sup>12</sup> *Vgl. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909), p. 448, (*skat*) 1.

'straight, upright, erect': *rekkr* (OE *rinc*: OS *rink*) 'hero, warrior'; *drangr* 'a high-jutting rock': *drengr* 'valiant young man; hero, warrior'; *þangr* 'sea-weed': *þengill* (OE *þengel*) 'prince, warrior' (connected with the root<sup>13</sup> \**stang-* [with initial *s-*] in *steng* 'stalk': NHG *Stange* 'pole': *Stengel* 'stalk'; compare also the many skaldic kennings for 'warrior' with *baðmr*, *meiðr*, *viðr* 'tree').

(2) *Skaldic words for 'sword'*

(a) *Ímnir*. The root \**im-* appears in two different senses; viz., (1) 'dark colored, grey' (cf. *im-r*: *im-arr* 'grey-colored animal' = 'wolf': *im-leitr* 'grey colored' as applied to the wolf), and (2) 'strife, battle' (cf. *im-a*: *im-un*). The earliest sense<sup>14</sup> of \**im-* was probably 'vapor, steam,' from which first of all was derived the sense of 'soot, dust' (cf. *im* 'soot, dust' and in ablaut relation *eim-r* 'vapor, steam'). From this sense of 'soot, dust' could develop (1) the color notion of 'sooty, dusty' > 'dark colored, grey,' and (2) 'the soot or dust of battle' (cf. *jó-reykr* 'dust stirred by horses') > 'battle, strife.' These two senses are apparently combined in the word *im-a* 'battle, strife' when applied as a proper name to a she-wolf.<sup>15</sup>

Finnur Jónsson (*Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 322a, s.v.) favors the interpretation of the word *im-nir* 'sword' as 'the dark colored' ("den brune, mörke?"). This interpretation is, of course, possible since (especially iron) weapons were sometimes denoted by their pale color.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, skaldic words for 'sword' often connoted the 'bright, flashing color of fire' (cf. *brandr* 'brand' > 'sword'; *brimir* 'sword': *brimi* 'fire,' and the many compounds in *-logi* 'flame,' such as *ben-*, *sár-logi* 'sword'). It seems, therefore, more reasonable to connect *im-nir* 'sword' with *im-a*: *im-un* 'battle' in the sense of 'the battler' > 'the weapon for battle' = 'sword'; the suffix *-nir* denoting an agent or the personification of the weapon (cf. *fjqr-nir* 'life-saver' > 'helmet': *fjqr* 'life'; *Mjoll-*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. LeRoy Andrews, MLN (1934), XXIX, pp. 133-134. The etymology of *þengill* is still uncertain, but Andrews' arguments deserve consideration—German scholars have apparently ignored them.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.*, p. 189, *Em*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *þulur*, IV ee 2 (*Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 322a, s.v.).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Folvir* 'The Pale, Dull-Colored One,' a proper name for 'sword' (*Lex. Poet.*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.), and *folvir oddar* (HH.I, 55,2) 'pale-colored spears.'

*nir* name of Thor's hammer, 'the Crusher': *mǫlva* 'to crush').

(b) *lǫgðir*. Cleasby-Vigfússon (*Icel. Dict.*, s.v.) derive the word *lǫgðir* from the verb *leggja* (<\*lag-jan) and interpret its literal sense as 'a stabber' (cf. *leggja sverði*, *hjør* 'thrust with the sword': *lag* 'a thrust, stab'). But since *lǫgðir* must have derived from an earlier \**laguðir*, this etymology must be rejected since it does not account for the original -u- of the middle syllable. This difficulty is obviated if we identify the stem \**lagu-* (>*lǫg-*) with \**lagu-* in the substantive \**lagu-r* > *lǫgr* 'sea; water, fluid, liquid.' In skaldic kennings the word *lǫgr* was often used for 'liquid flowing from wounds' = 'blood' (cf. *sár-*, *benja-*, *hræ-*, *hjør-lǫgr* 'blood'; cf. also *dreyri* 'flowing blood': Goth. *driusan* 'to fall, drop'). The substantive *lǫgðir* is a *jan*-stem denoting an agent. The ð-extension may denote a person (cf. *lof-ð-i* 'praise-worthy person, prince': Goth. *maga-þ-s* 'maiden': ON *flag-ð* 'giantess': *fljó-ð* 'woman,' etc.). The word *lǫgðir* may then be interpreted as the personification of the sword (cf. *ímnir*, 2(a) above), denoting 'he who makes the blood flow' (cf. the words for 'sword' connected with the idea of 'cutting, wounding,' such as *hjør* 'sword': *skera* 'to cut': *eggjar* 'edges; two-edged sword': *eggja* 'to sharpen': Lat. *acer* 'sharp').

(3) *Hefna*<sup>17</sup> 'to avenge.' According to Falk-Torp<sup>18</sup> *hefna* (<\**hafn-jan*) represents the causative verb to *hafna* 'to give up, abandon; cease' and must have originally signified 'to make cease, aufhören machen.' Phonetically there can be no objection to this etymology, but the semantic development is not clear inasmuch as it is difficult to see how a basic sense of 'to make cease, stop' could acquire the sense of 'to take vengeance, avenge,' especially in view of the verb *reka* 'to drive, pursue' > 'to avenge' (cf. Goth. *wrikan* = *διώκειν* 'to pursue, persecute': OE *wrecan*, OFris. *wreka* 'to drive, pursue; avenge': OS *wrekan*, OHG *rehhan* 'to punish, avenge'), which represents a basic sense ('to continue pursuit') contrary to that of 'make cease, stop,' which Falk-Torp postulate for *hefna*.

<sup>17</sup> *Hefna* might have been classified under A. *Semantic Notes*, but since the etymology of the word is involved, I have arbitrarily assigned *hefna* to B. *Etymologies* in spite of the fact that the semantic development of this word is the main theme under discussion.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 402, s.v.

If Falk-Torp's etymology of *hefna* is correct, I suggest a different semantic development. *Hef-ja* (Goth. *haf-jan*) 'to lift' (Lat. *cap-ere* 'to take hold of, seize'): *haf-na* 'to be lifted from one' > 'to be released from (a burden)' (cf. *hef-ugr* 'heavy': OE *hefig* 'heavy': *hefen* 'burden'). From a basic sense of 'to be released, relieved from' the verb *hafna* could have developed the two following senses; viz., (1) 'to give up, abandon; cease,' and (2) 'to be released (through retaliation)' > 'to be avenged': *hefna* 'to cause retaliation, to avenge.' That the verb *hafna* does not occur in sense 2 is no proof that this sense did not occur at the time when the factitive verb *hefna* was formed from *hafna*. It is not unreasonable to assume that the general sense of 'to be released, relieved' could acquire the specific sense of 'to be released, relieved *through retaliation*,' for an act of vengeance releases one from further attacking his enemy. Falk-Torp's interpretation of *hefna* as 'aufhören lassen' is conceivable only from this point of view (i.e., 'to make [attacking] cease, stop [attacking]': cf. Germ. *Waffenstillstand* 'a truce'). On account of the semantic difficulties involved the etymology of *hefna* must still be considered uncertain.

## SWEDISH WORDS MEANING 'PERHAPS'

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST  
The University of Nebraska

SWEDISH sometimes expresses the idea of 'perhaps' by means of a clause consisting of the expletive *det* plus one of the modal auxiliary forms *kan*, *kunde*, *tör*, *torde*<sup>1</sup> plus the infinitive *hända* 'happen'; this is then followed by an *att*-clause<sup>2</sup> (cf. 'It may be that. . .'). *Det kan hända, att Gud inte vill, att vi ska rubba på hans ordning. . . Det kan nog*<sup>3</sup> *hända, att hon hade velat, att de skulle ha bett henne stanna. Och då kan det också hända, att du själv kan le. . . Det kan till och med hända, att du då skall kunna. . . Det kunde nog hända*<sup>4</sup> *, att de på detta sätt skulle bli hjälpta en lång tid framåt. Plötsligen kom Helga att tänka på att det kunde hända, att föräldrarna hörde deras röster. Det torde nog hända, att hon skulle visa sig tacksam mot den, som nu bistode henne.* The conjunction *att* is usually expressed, but it may be omitted. *Det kan nog hända du har rätt.* In sentences like those cited, *Det kan* (or *kunde*, *tör*, *torde*) *hända* (, *att*) is to be rendered into English by the one word 'perhaps.'

The four words *kanske*, *kanhända*, *måhända*, and *törhända*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The example with *torde* cited below is the only one I have yet noted. My materials contain no example with *tör*, but cf. C. G. Björkman, *Svensk-engelsk ordbok* (Stockholm, 1902), under *töra*: "*det tör väl hända*, may be; perhaps. . ." An *att*-clause would follow naturally.

<sup>2</sup> Note the absence of expletive and *att*-clause in *Kan väl hända*, used as a reply, "vanligare 'kanhända'" (Olof Östergren, *Nusvensk ordbok* [Stockholm, 1915- ], under *hända*). Observe also the sentence: *Man påstår att Söder skall vara likt Paris, och det kan ju hända.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Björkman, *op. cit.*, under *må*: "*må vara! perhaps!*"

<sup>4</sup> Note that modal adverbs (as *nog*, *väl*) could not be present if a word meaning 'perhaps' were substituted for the clause, except in sentences such as: *Hon hade väl sina husliga skul kanske.*

<sup>5</sup> Different are cases like the following, where repeated action is denoted. *I början kunde det nog hända, att han ofrivilligt ryckte till, när. . . Men det kunde också hända, att mrs Brinck såg upp från sin bok och sade. . . Då kunde det hända, att han skrattade ett högt melodiskt skratt. . . Furthermore, hända in *Det kan hända, att. . .* sometimes means 'happen.'*

<sup>6</sup> Of these words, all but *kanske* reflect, with respect to the first syllable, the weakness of stress characteristic of modal auxiliaries. In older Swedish this was true also of *kanske* (to this the pronunciation of *sk* as *sj* bears witness); in the



all signifying 'perhaps,' were in their origin just such clauses followed by a subject clause introduced by *att*,<sup>7</sup> as is patent in the sentence *Kanske att han kommer*. Also here *att* may be omitted, as it indeed is in the majority of instances.<sup>8</sup> *Kanske han kommer*.<sup>9</sup> Since the subject clauses were subordinate clauses,<sup>10</sup> we find after these words, also when *att* is omitted, the expected characteristics of such clauses with reference to (1) the position of the so-called 'movable' adverbs and (2) the optional omission, in the severe and eminent styles, of the auxiliary in the present perfect and past perfect tenses. *Kanske hon icke skriver. Kanske hans ande fordom hade gästade denna värld av död och växling? Kanske han då hade varit en mäktig skald. . . . Det kunde du ha*

Swedish spoken in Finland it is still so stressed. Poetry takes advantage of this archaism and provincialism; cf. Runeberg, *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, IX, 73 ff.: *Var det för hjärtats frid kanske, / han höjde än sin röst? / Var det en bön, han ville be / till ett försonligt bröst?* The archaic *måske* 'perhaps' did not shift the position of its stress.

<sup>7</sup> In expressions of the original pattern, *må* is not now used as the auxiliary, nor *ske* as the infinitive. Gideon Danell, *Svensk språklära*<sup>2</sup> (Lund, 1932), p. 95, says: "Genom sammansättning av hjälpverb och självständigt verb, det förra i finit form, ha uppstått *kanske, kanhända, måhända, törhända* . . . egentligen alltså satser med (det formella) subjektet bortfallet." Natanael Beckman, *Svensk språklära*<sup>3</sup> (Stockholm, 1935), §213, Anm., says: "*Kanhända, kanske* äro från början satser; det följande är ursprungligen en dithörande subjektbisats." With reference to the omission of the expletive, cf. *Kan väl hända* (see footnote 2). With the development in Swedish, compare 'maybe,' from 'it may be,' and the archaic 'mayhap,' from 'it may hap.'

<sup>8</sup> Beckman, *loc. cit.*, gives an erroneous impression when he continues: "Ännu säges någon gång *kanske att*." He furthermore cites only an example from Rydberg (1828-1895), which may lead the reader to the wrong implication: that the use of *att* here is essentially old-fashioned. Also Danell, *loc. cit.*, refers somewhat gingerly to the employment of *att*: "Alltjämt kan det också [besides the purely adverbial use] heta: *kanske han kommer*, eller t.o.m.: *kanske att han kommer*. . ." Notwithstanding these statements, the use of *att* is by no means infrequent in twentieth century writers.

<sup>9</sup> An adverb may precede, but owing to the nature of what follows, it does not cause inversion. *Då kanske att du får se honom. Då kanske du kan ha i ditt sällskap en fullväxt gosse. . . . Nu kanske fruarna aldrig mer vilja titta in till mig? Om ni tillåter, att jag läser brevet, så kanske vi kunna få ljus i saken.*

<sup>10</sup> They are, according to Beckman, *op. cit.*, §213, *Märk I*, principal clauses: "De här nämnda egenheterna [characteristics of subordinate clauses] tillkomma därjämte följande huvudsatser: . . . b) ofta narrativa satser, inledda med *kanske, kanhända*." The word "ofta" excludes the use with following inversion.

fått, och kanske du varit nöjdare då. Måhända han ingenting alls sett.

From the types of expressions just discussed, with *att* omitted, have developed the purely adverbial *kanske*, *kanhända*, *måhända*, and *törhända*.<sup>11</sup> This they became through the mere changing of the word-order in such a way that they were followed immediately by the verb (inversion of subject and verb). *Kanske kom sig detta därav, att. . .*

These words, in their purely adverbial function, could then, naturally, occupy other sentence positions, and we usually find them placed directly after the finite form of the verb.<sup>12</sup> *De kunde kanske tro, att han inte ville göra det.* But under various conditions, the detailed account of which does not belong in the plan of the present study, their position is not immediately after the verb. *Det fattades henne kanhända kunskaper. Eljest skulle jag måhända kunnat tala med henne om saken.*<sup>13</sup> The placement of these adverbs after the verb occurs only in principal clauses, for they are so-called 'movable' adverbs. As such they must in subordinate clauses stand before the finite form of the verb. *För varje steg hon tog, tänkte hon på att Jesus måhända hade vandrat på samma mark, som hon nu beträdde. Han väntade sig ett råd, som måhända skulle göra allting gott.*

Certain Swedish adverbs may stand between the subject and the verb also in principal clauses.<sup>14</sup> The words meaning 'perhaps'

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Danell, *loc. cit.*: "Alltjämt kan det också beta: *kanske han kommer*, eller t.o.m.: *kanske att han kommer*, medan däremot vid fullständig övergång till adverb ordföljden blir denna: *kanske kommer han*." Beckman, *op. cit.*, §213, Anm., says: "Inversion efter *kanske* torde tillhöra högprosan [the eminent style]. . . Det ligger en utpräglad allvarsstämning över denna ordföljd [in connection with *kanske*?]." This statement is disproved by Beckman when, in his own *normalprosa* [severe style], he employs inversion (p. 268, line 2): "*Kanske erkänna vi ekvationen en man=en karl. Men vi skola utan all tvekan förkasta ekvationen en stor man=en stor karl.*" And any "utpräglad allvarsstämning" can not be ascribed to this passage.

<sup>12</sup> It takes precedence over negatives and various other adverbs. *Det är törhända inte rätt att vi fara.*

<sup>13</sup> But note, with noun subject: *Aldrig hava måhända dessa medeltidens nattsidor blivit målade på ett mer levande sätt.*

<sup>14</sup> Danell, *op. cit.*, p. 119, says: "Denna typiska bisatsordföljd [adverb before finite form of the verb] kan rent undantagsvis förekomma i huvudsats, när

may be so placed.<sup>15</sup> *Det kanske är bäst att jag säger adjö till er. Ja, kära Adèle, vi kanske skulle. . . . Han kanske bara är ute och går för ro skull. . . .*

In principal clauses these adverbs also sometimes stand at the end.<sup>16</sup> *Skulle jag göra det kanske? Han är sjuk, kanhända. Hon hade väl sina husliga skäl kanske. Har jag inte ögon att se med, kanhända.*

From an original pattern one of whose constituents is represented in the sentence *Det kan hända* (, att) *han köper huset*, with the form of a principal clause, there have developed, then, these types for words meaning 'perhaps' when they modify the whole clause: (1) *Kanske att han köper huset*. (2) *Kanske han köper huset*. (3) *Kanske köper han huset*. (4) *Han köper kanske huset*. (5) *Han kanske köper huset*. (6) *Han köper huset, kanske*.

In the development of the expression of the idea of 'perhaps,' there have been, as we have seen, four stages, represented by (1) Expressions of the original pattern *Det kan hända* (, att) *han köper huset*. (2) *Kanske (att) han köper huset*. (3) *Kanske köper han huset*. (4) *Han köper kanske huset*. *Han kanske köper huset*. *Han köper huset, kanske*.

It is indeed an interesting situation that some constituents of the original pattern, that is, of stage 1, have remained in use, and that the forms of expression of stage 2 have been retained for all four words, even after these words, in stages 3 and 4, had become pure adverbs. Usually, in the growth of languages, the new crowds out and replaces the old.

ett förstärkningsadverb placeras omedelbart framför predikatsverbet, för att sambandet med detta skall markeras; konstruktionen är knappast skriftspråksmässig. Ex. *Man riktigt häpnade över de stora förändringarna.*" Beckman, however, gives full validity to this word-order (*op. cit.*, §225, Märk 3): "I prosan stå endast särskilda satsadverbial, som sluta sig till predikatet, före predikatet i huvudsats. Ex. *Han rent av häpnade. Jag bara läser. Hon till och med rodnade.*"

<sup>15</sup> Neither Danell nor Beckman (see footnote 14) mentions in this connection the words meaning 'perhaps,' but Beckman, *op. cit.*, §171, 5, in discussing, without reference to word-order, adverbs that modify a whole clause, cites the example *Du kanske kommer i morgon*.

<sup>16</sup> When they modify a particular word or phrase, they stand before this. *Burgnare än kanske några andra delar av Sverige. Måhända med undantag för. . . . I måhända än högre grad. . . . En kvinnlig ungdom i kanske femtonårsåldern. Han var vät och kanske frös.*

Now, as to the various types in their connection with the words meaning 'perhaps': While the original pattern is today represented only by *kan* (*kunde, tör, torde*)+*hända*, and while for types 5 and 6 I have not encountered sentences that illustrate all the words, there are for types 1, 2, 3, and 4 examples available for all four:<sup>17</sup>

- (1) *Kanske att en tjuv hade smugit sig in i stugan.*  
*Kanhända att det kunde vara skäl att tänka på det. . . .*  
*Måhända att du kan få se dem.*  
*Törhända att Gud beveker hans hjärta.*
- (2) *Kanske Kajsa har rätt.*  
*Kanhända han är sjuk?*  
*Måhända han ingenting alls sett.*  
*Törhända han har sett honom.*
- (3) *Kanske kan det vara bra, att någon vet det.*  
*Kanhända var det inte heller farmors allvar. . . .*  
*Måhända hade han ock ett personligt skäl. . . .*  
*Törhända drogo i den stunden hågkomster från ungdomen genom hans själ.*
- (4) *Detta var kanske det allra värsta.*  
*Jag borde kanhända ha gjort det.*  
*Men det kunde måhända bli döden.*  
*Det skulle törhända bli luckor i sammanhanget ibland.*

Since it is possible to employ each of the four words in each of the four types, it follows that any one of these sentences can be expressed in sixteen different ways. And if we take into account types 5 and 6 and also the original pattern, each of the sentences can be expressed in more than twenty ways.

It will be evident that writers in the field of belles-lettres could not forego taking advantage of this wealth of expression. Through the intermixture of types or of words, or combinations of these two features, these authors often give variety to their production, with definite aesthetic effects.

Occasionally, indeed, we encounter striking stylistic varia-

<sup>17</sup> The most frequently occurring examples are those with *kanske*; next are those with *måhända*. In the popular styles *kanhända* is common. *Måhända* and *törhända* belong primarily to the severe and eminent styles.

tion in that, either in adjacent sentences or in the same sentence, we find a change in type instead of a repetition of the word meaning 'perhaps.' Four examples are here cited: (1) *Kanske föds man på nytt? Kanske själen är som en joghurtsvamp.* (2) *Kanske kom det i detta ögonblick över henne en plötslig ångest. . . . Kanske tänkte hon på att. . . . Kanske att hon tyckte, att. . . .* (3) "*Kanske att han har fått en annan kär,*" *tänkte Elsalill. "Kanske det är på henne han nu tänker."* (4) *Kanske, när allt kom omkring, att Gud Fader höll denna jord på sin högra hand som ett stort fågelnäste, och kanske han hade kommit att hysa kärlek för alla dem, som där bygga och bo. . . .* The two following examples are particularly interesting, since the use of *att* gives the effect of the repetition of the word meaning 'perhaps': (1) *Jag går in till herr Poignard, kanske han är sjuk och att det är doktorn. . . .* (2) *Kanhända någon gnolar en visa genom ett köksfönster, eller att några barn leka nere i gränden.*

Occasionally, again, the words meaning 'perhaps' are varied, under the conditions of proximity mentioned, and then the effect is even more striking, as the two following examples show: (1) *Törhända ha de så fäst sig vid sitt skepp och det fria havet, att de aldrig vända tillbaka. Kanske ha de som många andra vikingar tagit sig borg och mark i andra land. Kanske äro de redan fallna.* (2) *Men då han alltjämt tiger, tänker hon, att han törhända inte vill binda sig vid henne. Han älskar henne, men han vill måhända förbli en fri man. Han förstår kanske, att hon inte passar till hustru för en socialist.*

The Swedish language possesses an unusual abundance of sets of alternative forms of expression. In the multitude of ways in which it can express the idea of 'perhaps,' it affords a truly remarkable display of richness and provides the literary artist with extraordinary material for the exercise of his craftsmanship.

## REVIEW

*The Truth About Leif Ericsson and the Greenland Voyages*, by William B. Goodwin. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1941. Pp. 445, 8 by 11 inches; 57 illustrations. Price, \$3.50.

This work is an uncritical miscellany of fragmentary accounts and comments on the voyages of Icelanders, Greenlanders, and Norwegians to Wineland (*Vinland*) with emphasis on the geographical landfall and the location of Leif's house or houses (booths), the boundaries of Wineland, and many related subjects.

It would be difficult to find an example of a work in this field, or in any other field, that has failed so completely, as has this one, to conform to the conventional disposition of the constituent material into a series of orderly and logically interrelated chapters with the usual apparatus of bibliography, index, readable maps in their proper places, notes, and explicit indications in the text for immediate reference to any source outside of the work or to statements made in any part of it.

There are numerous other defects relative to form and style. Prolixity and a strange practice, nothing short of an obsession, of reintroducing and ruminating matters already sufficiently paraded before the reader, continue with clocklike precision from the beginning of the work more or less to the end. Cf. Part I with contents of the *Addenda*, pp. 327-408.

In the Foreword the author states his purpose, viz., "to decipher the true meaning contained in those well-known translations of what is generally referred to as the *Greenland Voyages to America*, found in the Icelandic saga, i.e., the romantic voyages made by the Northmen from their colonies in the great Island of Greenland, settled from Iceland after the year of our Lord 883."

On page fourteen Mr. Goodwin reveals his sources, the *Flatley Book* (*Flateyjarbók*) and the *Hauk's Book* (*Hauksbók*). He regrets having been obliged to give only such excerpts from the translations of the books "as will most readily explain the highlights in this age-old drama. Otherwise we are afraid the reader would balk at perusing this volume—considering it too technical for the

average layman. We wish to express the hope that we have made ourselves plain and constructive in what follows."

It is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to do exactly what he did not have the courage to do, for that is precisely what the lay reader would need in order to be able to read the book intelligently. The entire story of the *Hauk's Book* dealing with the discovery of Wineland by Leif, the subsequent voyage by Thorstein, and the expedition by Thorfinn Karlsefni covers slightly more than fourteen pages; that of the *Flatey Book* setting forth Bjarni's discovery, Leif's discovery of Wineland, Thorvald's discovery of Wineland, Thorstein's voyage, Thorfinn Karlsefni's expedition to Wineland, and that of Freydis, about nineteen pages—in all about thirty-three pages. If, in addition, a good sketch map of entire Wineland, i.e., the American coastline from New York to the northern limit of Wineland, and beyond up to and including Greenland, had been inserted at the beginning of the volume for ready reference, that would have rendered the book immensely more workable, particularly if all the localities in Wineland proper and outside of its limits had been plainly marked.

The maps of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey reproduced in the book are not always legible even with a reading glass; and this is, of course, a serious drawback. Besides, the volume is extremely cumbersome in that it has, as already stated, no references in the text to any part of the book, including the *Addenda* which, by the way, is a scrapbook in itself of no less than 120 pages.

Chapter I opens with a statement to the effect that all the voyages following that of Bjarni had the common objective of reaching a landfall at what is known as Leif's house. The author is, therefore, confronted with the primary problem of locating this structure. To this end he has followed a suggestion made by Mr. E. E. Davis, well-known civil engineer of Northampton, Mass., that the harbor of Portsmouth, N. H., bears "a striking resemblance to that detailed description of the harbor near Leif's landfall in Wineland, contained in the *Saga of Leif's Voyage of Discovery*." Thereupon follow descriptions of Streamford (*Straumford*) and of Hop (*Hóp*). At the former place, at the

inside of the fiord, Leif's house was situated, and there all the attacks of the *Skrælingar* took place; Hop, however, the author locates near the Town Brook, Plymouth, Mass.

Chapter II, quite interesting, deals with the topography and geographical features of Portsmouth Harbor as compared with the topographical features of the Streamfiord of the sagas. First of all, at the southern entrance to the harbor there is a large island called New Castle Island. To the north—the New Hampshire coast here runs N.N.E. by S.S.W., and this tallies with the geography of the saga locality—the channel entrance is Gerrish Island, of the same size, which is a cape running to the eastward and turning abruptly to the north by east at the very beginning of the southern limit of the coast of Maine. There is a strong probability, says the author, that the island where Leif landed is New Castle Island; and that the Stream Island (*Straumey*), with its strong currents, mentioned by Karlsefni, is Gerrish Island. If this assumption is reasonable, the author continues, these two islands correspond respectively, the one to that where the Northmen “cupped their hands and drank so refreshingly of the heavy dew (known as the honey dew), and the other to Gerrish Island, where they met with so many eider duck nests that they could scarcely move about without trampling upon the eggs.”

“The Leif Saga says they entered a sound above (north of) the ‘Dew Island’ (New Castle Island) towards a ness going eastward and around to the north (Gerrish Island) and turned *westward* to a river falling into a sea (salt water) from a lake.” This sound, the author thinks, is the channel of the Piscataqua River leading north by west, to swing suddenly west, narrowing down to a river-like channel turning northwest until, in exactly four miles, it reaches a salt water bay, known as Little Bay, which leads to the south into another salt water bay several times larger and known as Great Bay. The author suggests that these two bodies of water may be considered as one lake in the entirety of their area, and so could be the lake of Streamfiord and Stream Island mentioned in the two accounts of the sagas. Somewhere on these shores of Little and Great Bays were built, the author speculates, all the housings of the Northmen. No traces of them are likely ever to be found.



To further strengthen his argument as to the geographical position of Leif's house, Mr. Goodwin needlessly points to the fact that the grape grows in abundance in the locality in question. He also mentions the presence of wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*). As to whether the eider duck nests in that region, an expert has stated that "if the eider duck still is found nesting in lower New England today, it is inferential that it did so in the early 11th century."<sup>1</sup> The key to the whole situation, however, lies in the solution of the *eyktarstad*. Those interested are referred to Chapter XII, where a full discussion of this problem will be found.

On the basis of the findings of the author, Portsmouth becomes the center of Wineland. The southern half has its limit below the bottom of Cape Cod Bay; the northern limit is the coast as far as the mouth of the Penobscot River. "Within this northern half of Wineland," he continues, "lie all other nomenclature and physical features ever spoken of in the sagas below Markland." A corresponding statement is made with reference to the southern half of Wineland. Where Markland ends, he maintains, cannot be determined; but he points to the fact that the capture of two boys by Karlsefni occurred *after* the voyagers had left Wineland. In this connection, Mr. Goodwin, like so many others before him, brings up the question of Irish- or Celtic-speaking people living on the northern shores of America at the time of the visits here by the Northmen. It is natural, too, that he should touch upon the conversation of Gudrid with her namesake, hinting thereby that there were also people of Icelandic blood in Wineland before the coming of Leif. While the author does not commit himself, he does not argue against such a possibility.

At the end of the fourth chapter, in which the author settles to his own satisfaction the question as to the localities of *Keelness* and *Crossnes*, he states that both points are in the State of Maine, i.e., between Cape Elizabeth and the western entrance to the Penobscot River. This is the region of *Furðustrandir*. Thereupon he submits a summary in which he compares the topography of Wineland with that of modern New England.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Cushman Murphy, *American Museum of Natural History*, New York, N. Y.

The validity of Mr. Goodwin's theory regarding the locality of Leif's landfall and the consequent general reconstruction of the Wineland area in conformity with the sailing directions and the descriptions of the coasts and localities found in the sources will no doubt, in course of time, be duly tested by authorities in the field.

If it be true that this attempt at a readjustment of Wineland is the author's sole contribution, there is no need of examining the remaining chapters of his work. It is plain from the author's plan in general and from his procedure that the Portsmouth proposition has not been built up on a foundation of thorough understanding of the origin and subsequent redactions of the manuscripts of the tales and the sagas concerned, or to any appreciable extent on familiarity with the voluminous critical literature on the subject of pre-Columbian discoveries, more particularly that pertaining to the Northmen, or on the basis of any other truly historical aspect of the voyages in question. Otherwise he would undoubtedly have written with greater caution.

In *The Problem of Wineland*,<sup>2</sup> Halldór Hermannsson rightly voices a warning that identification of places mentioned in the sagas is "virtually impossible," because of the scant descriptions of the sagas. Furthermore, almost one thousand years have passed since the voyages took place. During this time radical changes have been brought about on the Atlantic coast of North America by natural forces as well as by the hand of man. Thus the coast of Labrador<sup>3</sup> has risen since the Glacial Period from 250 to 390 feet, and the coast of Newfoundland has risen even more. The opposite process has been going on along the coast of New England.<sup>4</sup>

But Mr. Goodwin has shot his bolt, warning or no warning; and he may be as nearly correct in his findings as any of the many commentators since the time of Torfaeus and Rafn. The author's location of Wineland will certainly seem more plausible

<sup>2</sup> *Islandica*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1936, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> W. T. Grenfell and others, *Labrador, the Country and the People*, New York, 1909, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Sears, J. H., *The Physical Geography . . . of Essex County, Mass.* Salem, 1905, pp. 57-58. Both Grenfell and Sears are cited by Hermannsson.

to many than that of Gustav Storm,<sup>5</sup> Hans P. Steensby,<sup>6</sup> or William Hovgaard.<sup>7</sup> The earliest investigators located their Wineland in the region of Cape Cod; likewise recent writers, e.g., M. G. Gathorne-Hardy<sup>8</sup> and A. W. Brøgger<sup>9</sup> have done so, not to mention others. For many who have lived in Lower Canada and the regions of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, generally speaking some distance north of Passamaquoddy Bay, it is difficult to believe that the Wineland of Leif and Karlsefni is to be looked for in this vicinity. Certain parts of the coast of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, on the other hand, are more easily associated with the term 'Wineland.' And it is, of course, not unlikely that if the voyagers ever reached Cape Cod, they also reached Long Island Sound, the East River, and the Hudson.

AXEL JOHAN UPPVALL  
*University of Pennsylvania*

<sup>5</sup> *Studier over Vinlandsreisene*, København, 1887.

<sup>6</sup> *The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland*, Copenhagen, 1918.

<sup>7</sup> *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America*, New York, 1915.

<sup>8</sup> *The Norse Discoverers of America*, Oxford, 1921.

<sup>9</sup> *Vinlandsferdene*, Oslo, 1937.

THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF  
SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

*THE Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* met on the campus of North Park College, Chicago, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, May 2 and 3, 1941.

FIRST SESSION, FRIDAY, MAY 2, 2 P.M.

This session was held in Caroline Hall. The meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, Professor Richard Beck.

President Algoth Ohlson of North Park College delivered an address of welcome, in which he called attention to the fact that this was the thirtieth year of the Society and the fiftieth of North Park College. The college is attempting to keep alive an understanding and appreciation of Scandinavian culture and greets the society as friends of one common cultural family.

Professor Richard Beck extended to President Algoth Ohlson and North Park College felicitations on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the college.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. Oehlenschläger's *Hamlet* (25 minutes). By Professor Norman L. Willey, University of Michigan. The paper was discussed by Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlström and Dr. Alfred Scherer.

2. Notes on Tegnér's Poetry (20 minutes). By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussed by President Algoth Ohlson and Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlström.

3. *Legenda Crucis* (15 minutes). By Professor Henning Larsen, University of Illinois. Discussion by Professors Joseph Alexis, Carl E. W. L. Dahlström, Richard Beck, and A. M. Sturtevant.

4. Falkberget and His Novels on the Norwegian Miners (20 minutes). By Professor Richard Beck, University of North Dakota. This paper was discussed by Dr. Alfred Scherer, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, President Algoth Ohlson, Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlström, and Professor Henning Larsen.

The following committees were appointed: for Nominations, Professor E. Gustav Johnson, Dr. Alfred Scherer, and Professor Karl H. Carlson; for Auditing, Mr. Hedin Bronner and Mr. Martin Söderbäck; for Resolutions, Professors Carl E. W. L. Dahlström and A. M. Sturtevant.

There were forty-one present at this session, following which the members of the society were guests of North Park College at a tea in Caroline Hall.

At seven o'clock the annual dinner was held in the college dining hall. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University served as toastmaster. The invocation was pronounced by Dean Nils W. Lund of North Park Theological Seminary. President Algoth Ohlson spoke about Scandinavia as a social laboratory of humanity. Professor Richard Beck expressed the pleasure felt by the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study in being guests of North Park College in its fiftieth anniversary year. The main address of the evening was given by Dr. Helge Kökeritz, docent in English at Uppsala University and visiting professor at the University of Iowa. His subject was "The Scandinavian Heritage in England." Music by North Park College Men's Glee Club, E. Clifford Toren, director, included the following numbers: Sverige, Stenhammar; Herdens söndags-sång, Kreutzer; Gören portarna höga, Wennerberg; Näckrosen, Abt; Finnish Lullaby, Palmgren; Pilgrims' Chorus from "Tannhäuser," Wagner. The group singing, conducted by Dean Toren to the accompaniment of K. Ejnar Rask, included several Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish songs, and the Star Spangled Banner.

The dinner was attended by ninety-five persons.

#### SECOND SESSION, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by President Richard Beck.

The following paper was read:

5. Did Asgaard Fall with Western Viking Civilization (10 minutes)? By Mr. Hedin Bronner, North Park College. The paper was discussed by Professors Richard Beck, Joseph Alexis, Mr. N. W. Olsson, and Mr. Karl A. Olsson.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was read and accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The report of the Secretary to the effect that the Executive had declined the proposition to publish *Scandinavian Studies* at the University of Minnesota was accepted and the matter laid on the table.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: "The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study expresses with pleasure its appreciation to North Park College for the cordial welcome and genuine hospitality extended to the Society at its thirtieth annual meeting. The Society is especially grateful to the members of the Local Committee on Arrangements for their important contribution to the success of this meeting. Through this contact with North Park College the Society feels that it has received a renewed stimulus towards fostering those intellectual and cultural ideals which in the Scandinavian countries are now threatened." The resolution was accepted by acclamation.

It was moved and carried to adopt the following resolution written by Professor A. M. Sturtevant: "During the past year Professor Martin B. Ruud and Professor F. Stanton Cawley, prominent members of the Society, passed away. In recognition of their devotion and service to our cause the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires here to express its appreciation and gratitude. Both Professor Ruud and Professor Cawley were scholars of high rank and had made important contributions to the advancement of Scandinavian study. The Society is profoundly grieved over the loss of these two fine scholars and gentlemen, yet we are comforted in the thought that their work was so well done."

The officers elected were: President, Professor Richard Beck, University of North Dakota; Vice-President, Professor Carl E. W. L. Dahlström, University of Michigan; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska; Editor of *Scandinavian Studies*, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas; Associate Editor, Professor A. L. Elmquist, University of Nebraska; member of the Advisory Committee for two years,

Dean Jörgen Thompson, St. Olaf College; members for three years, Mr. Elmer Larson, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Professor Axel J. Uppvall, University of Pennsylvania.

There were twenty present at this session.

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

## TREASURER'S REPORT

TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

## INCOME

On hand May 3, 1940.....	\$ 273.35	
Received from membership dues.....	1075.14	
Sale of <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	12.45	
Advertising in <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	35.00	
Contributions to the Endowment Fund.....	3.00	
From estate of Elizabeth A. Marshall.....	154.78	
Interest on Endowment Fund.....	210.00	\$1763.72

## EXPENSES

Banta Publishing Company		
May number, 1940, <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> ..	\$151.00	
August number, 1940, <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> ..	153.03	
November number, 1940, <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	149.65	
February number, 1941, <i>Scandinavian Studies</i> .....	185.22	\$ 638.90
A. M. Sturtevant, editor's expenses.....	25.82	
A. L. Elmquist, postage.....	10.00	
Postmaster, for stamps and envelopes.....	26.08	
Boyd Printing Company, for programs.....	7.50	
Clerical help.....	60.00	
Exchange on checks.....	5.01	773.31
<hr/>		
On hand May 1, 1941.....		990.41
To this should be added:		
Loans on first mortgage.....		4200.00
		<hr/>
		\$5190.41

An additional mortgage of five hundred dollars, included in earlier reports, will be added when its exact value is ascertained.



# Scandinavian Studies

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## IBSEN'S GHOSTS AT THE THÉÂTRE-LIBRE

C. A. SWANSON

*University of Texas*

THE first Parisian performance of an Ibsen play was that of *Ghosts* at the Théâtre-Libre, May 29, 1890. In view of the great influence that Ibsen was subsequently to exert on French dramatists, and the bitter controversies to which his plays were to give rise among French critics, this first performance was an event of considerable importance. And yet, the circumstances which led to the staging of *Ghosts* by Antoine have remained obscure and have often been misrepresented—first of all by Antoine himself. The clarification of these circumstances is the object of the present study.

When he first organized his amateur company, Antoine had no purpose beyond facilitating the production of plays that were different from the conventional thing, and giving unknown authors a chance to see their works on the stage. It was only gradually and under varied influences that his philosophy of the theater was formed. He was very emphatic in declaring his intention of remaining independent of the several literary groups which were striving for control of his theater; and for a time he succeeded in maintaining a scrupulously exact balance between the verse plays of the neo-romantic poets, such as Banville, Richepin, and Mendès, and the ultra-realistic plays of Zola and his group. Gradually, however, the latter got the upper hand: as early as June, 1888, we find Antoine recording in his journal that, "while the poets have had their share in the season, the naturalists have furnished the best and the most significant part of the effort";<sup>1</sup> and the following year, in discussing the various factions which are seeking to dictate the policies of the Théâtre-Libre, he admits that it is Zola's opinion that he esteems most highly.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Antoine, A., *Mes Souvenirs sur le Théâtre-Libre* (Paris, 1921), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Antoine, *ibid.*, p. 144.

It was Zola who first suggested to Antoine that Ibsen's *Ghosts* be performed at the Théâtre-Libre. A minor critic, Jacques Saint-Cère, having gained some knowledge of Ibsen's work while acting as secretary to a Berlin producer, published a series of articles on the subject in the *Revue d'Art Dramatique* for March and April 1887. This was neither the first nor the best study of Ibsen to appear in a French journal,<sup>3</sup> but it is of peculiar importance because of the fact that it attracted the attention of Zola. It is not surprising that, of all the plays discussed by Saint-Cère, *Ghosts* should have particularly interested the creator of the Rougon-Macquart family. Here he found true realism coupled with the pseudo-scientific preoccupations of the naturalists in general and his own special interest in heredity; and the horror of the ending, exaggerated in the account of Saint-Cère, was not without its charms for the author of *l'Assommoir*. Here, as it seemed to him, was precisely the sort of thing that he himself had for years been striving to produce on the stage. It is not improbable that Zola saw in Ibsen's work flattering evidence of his own influence in foreign countries. This claim was later to be made for Zola by literary critics on many occasions, but was vigorously refuted by Ibsen himself.

That Zola lost no time in urging Antoine to consider the play for presentation at the Théâtre-Libre is shown by the following statement of Albert Savine, the first publisher of Ibsen translations in France:

The evening when *The Power of Darkness* was read at the Théâtre-Libre . . . M. Emile Zola called the attention of a group to a powerful foreign dramatist who had just been revealed to him through a German translation. . . . The author of *The Dream* knew *Ghosts*, at least through a pale reflection, and he declared that it was absolutely necessary that the play be performed. Here was the new drama, that naturalistic drama which people were clamoring for. M. Antoine, intrigued, received a French version of *Ghosts*. The play was read. The effect was not simply one of astonishment; it inspired a complete skepticism. The translator was first blamed; then they changed their minds about the translation and said nothing more about the work, and the plan was quickly abandoned.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It was, in fact, a very poor study, full of inaccuracies and absurd exaggerations. Cf. A. Dikka Reque, *Trois Auteurs Scandinaves, Ibsen, Bjørnson, Strindberg*, devant la Critique Française (Paris, 1930), pp. 7-21.

<sup>4</sup> *La Revue Indépendante*, January-February, 1889, p. 4.

The incident described by Savine must have taken place late in 1887 or very early in 1888, since the rehearsals of *The Power of Darkness*, to which reference is made, were in progress in the middle of January, 1888.<sup>5</sup> In July 1888, the director of the Théâtre-Libre made a trip to Brussels, where he had an opportunity to study the work of the famous Meiningen players, who had recently presented *Ghosts*. In a long letter to Francisque Sarcey, quoted by that dramatic critic in his *Quarante Ans de Théâtre*,<sup>6</sup> Antoine makes the following comment:

They played, at Meiningen, Henrik Ibsen's *Ghosts*, of which I have a translation. Their duke had had the very "théâtre-libre" idea of having the play performed privately, before the author and the invited critics of the German press. The play could not be performed publicly, for it is very subversive, and I feel sure that in the month of October it will surprise even you a little.

That the last clause of Antoine's statement refers to a projected performance of the play by the Théâtre-Libre in October 1888, can scarcely be doubted. A further allusion to such a project is found in a letter from Ibsen to Antoine, quoted by the latter in his journal under date of April 20, 1890:

Since the foundation of the Théâtre-Libre, I have followed with the keenest attention the activities of that interesting enterprise. Hence I felt a great satisfaction when I learned, *two years ago*,<sup>7</sup> that you had conceived the plan of having my play *Ghosts* performed on the stage directed by you.<sup>8</sup>

Up to this point everything seems perfectly clear: Antoine's attention was directed to Ibsen's *Ghosts* by Zola not later than January 1888; during the following summer he obtained further information concerning the play and definitely planned to produce it in October 1888; Ibsen, whether directly or indirectly, was informed of these plans.

What, then, is our amazement on finding the following entry in Antoine's journal under date of January 12, 1890, *precisely two years later*:

Zola, whom I am seeing this evening, calls my attention to an article by Jacques

<sup>5</sup> See Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Sarcey, F., *Quarante Ans de Théâtre* (Paris, 1900-1902), Vol. VIII, p. 262.

This 'feuilleton' is dated July 23, 1888.

<sup>7</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>8</sup> Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

Saint-Cère on the subject of a Scandinavian author, one of whose works has just been performed in Germany with tremendous effect.<sup>9</sup>

And again, on the same page:

I am going to ask Jacques Saint-Cère for his article. Having been for a long time the secretary of Paul Lindau, journalist and theater director there, he is the man best informed about things German. Saint-Cère tells me that it is a question of a play in three acts on heredity, the title of which would be in French: *Les Revénants*.

Ibsen is now a vague "Scandinavian author," and Antoine is dependent upon Saint-Cère for the most rudimentary information concerning his play! Moreover, though he informed Sarcey in July 1888, that he had a translation of *Ghosts* and that he considered the play "very subversive," thus confirming Savine's statement that it had already been read and discussed at the Théâtre-Libre, he tells us, on February 5, 1890, that Zola has promised to find him a translator; on February 15, 1890, he reports that he has received the translation of a certain Louis de Hessem;<sup>10</sup> and on February 17, 1890, he gives us the vivid impressions of a first reading. We have thus one inconsistency after another, and we are almost ready to accuse the straight-forward Antoine of deliberately trying to mislead us.

Certainly he has misled his critics and historians, who calmly quote his statements in this connection without perceiving their glaring discrepancies.<sup>11</sup> Antoine himself, in a recent volume on the theater, seems to be aware of his earlier inconsistency: in re-quoting from the *Souvenirs* Ibsen's letter concerning the performance of *Ghosts*, he attempts to remedy matters by suppressing the significant phrase "two years ago."<sup>12</sup>

A simple explanation suffices to clear up the whole difficulty. Though the general tone of Antoine's *Souvenirs* precludes all doubt of their frankness and sincerity, the dates under which

<sup>9</sup> Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>10</sup> The facsimile of Zola's letter introducing M. de Hessem to Antoine, reproduced in the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, July 9, 1921, shows no date.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Reque, *op. cit.*, p. 34, and Samuel M. Waxman, *Antoine and the Théâtre-Libre* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 114. The latter does, indeed, note the mention of *Ghosts* in Antoine's letter to Sarcey, but he fails to see that this makes nonsense of Antoine's entries of later date in the *Souvenirs*.

<sup>12</sup> André Antoine, *Le Théâtre* (Paris, 1932), p. 249.

entries are made in his journal are, unhappily, not always to be relied upon. As regards Ibsen's *Ghosts*, he seems to have made all references to the play as of the year in which it was performed by the Théâtre-Libre. Thus on March 17, 1890, he comments on the English reception of *Ghosts*, precisely a year *before* that play was performed in London on March 13, 1891!<sup>13</sup> Apparently, the day and the month were noted at the time the comment was written, and the year was supplied later—perhaps when the *Souvenirs* were being edited for publication. If now we suppose that a similar mistake was made for the whole series of dates we have mentioned, everything becomes clear and logical: the day and the month are in each case correct, the year should be 1888, instead of 1890.

All the available facts tend to justify this supposition: the most important performance of *Ghosts* in Germany, referred to by Antoine in 1890 as very recent, was that of January 9, 1887;<sup>14</sup> the articles of Saint-Cère, which Antoine mentions, were published in March and April of the same year; Antoine's statement of the time when Zola first urged him to perform *Ghosts* will now coincide with Savine's account of the matter, and also with Ibsen's reference to it; finally, Antoine's letter to Sarcey, being subsequent to this time, will confirm, instead of contradicting, his notations in the *Souvenirs*.

But if we thus revise the dates of these entries in Antoine's journal, instead of taking them at face value, as has heretofore been done, two problems immediately present themselves: Why did Antoine abandon his plans for presenting Ibsen's *Ghosts* in 1888, and what circumstances led him to resume those plans two years later?

The answer which Savine, in the statement already quoted, supplies to the first of these questions is not altogether convincing. He seems to imply that the project was abandoned immediately after the first reading of the play in a French version, and that there was an element of bad faith in placing the blame on the translator. Antoine does, indeed, express doubts concerning the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Miriam A. Franc, *Ibsen in England* (Boston, 1919), p. 88, and Halvdan Koht, *Henrik Ibsen* (Oslo, 1928), Vol. II, p. 312.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. William H. Eller, *Ibsen in Germany* (Boston, 1918), pp. 59-60.

accuracy of the translation, but he concludes, "nevertheless, there can be no hesitating."<sup>15</sup> His letter to Sarcey proves that, nearly six months after reading it, he was still planning to produce the play. Moreover, he was undoubtedly right in thinking that the translation of Louis de Hessem, made at second hand from a German version, was very bad indeed. Obviously, if Antoine's *Souvenirs* had contained a specific statement of his reasons for not performing the play in 1888, the confusion of dates which we have noted could scarcely have occurred.<sup>16</sup> In the absence of more definite information, we can only assume that Antoine, at the same time as he proceeded with his plans for a performance, was seeking a more satisfactory translation, and failing to find this, was compelled to abandon the project, or, at least, to postpone it indefinitely.

Passing now to the second of our questions, we can be much more categorical in our explanation of the resumption of these plans in 1890. A number of circumstances contributed to holding Antoine's attention to Ibsen's play. Among the most important of these must have been the appearance in 1889 of the first noteworthy French translations of Ibsen, *Les Revenants* and *Maison de Poupée*, made by Moritz Prozor, a Russian count with a Swedish wife, who was to become the official translator of Ibsen into French. *Les Revenants* was originally published in *La Revue Indépendante*, January and February 1889, but later in the same year the two plays appeared in book form with a preface by the Swiss novelist and critic Edouard Rod. This preface was first published in *Le Temps* and aroused considerable discussion, the most important result of which was a series of articles by Jules Lemaître in *Le Journal des Débats*.<sup>17</sup> Whereas the studies of Jacques Saint-Cère had attracted the attention of a few specialists like Zola, the authority of Lemaître imposed Ibsen on the attention of the general public, and from that time forward the

<sup>15</sup> *Souvenirs*, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup> An incident described by Antoine in the *Souvenirs* (pp. 165-167), under date of March 2, 1890, would have a bearing on this matter if it could be shown that this entry, like those previously discussed, is post-dated by two years. In it Antoine speaks of having read the play to a group of friends and having consulted them with regard to the possibility of its performance at the Théâtre-Libre.

<sup>17</sup> August 19, 26, and September 2, 9, 1889.

discussion of his dramas was carried on with animation by the French journals and reviews. Lemaitre took a further hand in the matter when, in the same year, he joined Prozor in requesting Porel, the director of the Odéon, to give a performance of *A Doll's House*.<sup>18</sup> The rivalry between Antoine and Porel was very keen, and Antoine would certainly have been greatly chagrined if the official theater had anticipated him in the introduction of Ibsen to the French public. Early in 1889, *A Doll's House* was performed at Brussels, under the title of *Nora*, in the French translation of Léon Vanderkindere, a professor at the University of Brussels. In speaking of this event, a writer in the *Revue d'Art Dramatique* alludes to the long delayed plans of Antoine:

A Norwegian name fills the world of the theater. A Norwegian play has been performed at Brussels. And there has even been talk . . . of the presentation of Norwegian works in a Parisian theater. The readers of the *Review* will surmise that I am speaking of Henrik Ibsen and that I am making allusion to the presentation, long ago announced, of *Nora* or of *Ghosts* at the Théâtre-Libre of Paris.<sup>19</sup>

In September 1889, the German Freie Bühne, an offspring of the Théâtre-Libre, set the example for its parent organization by giving *Ghosts* as its initial performance.<sup>20</sup> All the while, Zola persisted in expressing his desire to see *Ghosts* on a French stage; and apparently late in 1889, Antoine renewed his efforts to find an acceptable translation.

We have seen that Antoine immediately recognized the inadequacy of Louis de Hessem's translation. After his first reading of it he describes it as a "translation into French based on a German text, adapted moreover from the Norwegian,"<sup>21</sup> and he later expresses the desire of finding the means to compare it with the original.<sup>22</sup> In view of all the discussion called forth by the publication of Prozor's translation, it is strange indeed that Antoine should never once have made in his *Souvenirs* direct reference to this version. In his recent study, *Le Théâtre*, he does admit that the translation was considered and rejected: "Count

<sup>18</sup> Cf. M. Prozor, *Maison de Poupée*, Crès et Cie. (Paris, 1923), p. xiv.

<sup>19</sup> H. Hansen, *Revue d'Art Dramatique*, July 1, 1889, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Eller, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>21</sup> *Souvenirs*, p. 163.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

Prozor . . . had come to propose his (translation), which was no more satisfactory to us. His offer was declined, then, although he was, as he said, already provided with an authorization from Ibsen. . . ."<sup>23</sup> A reflection of these negotiations is seen in a letter of Henry Céard to Prozor, written in December 1889 and published the following April in the *Gil Blas*, in which Céard declines to make an adaptation of *Ghosts* for the Théâtre-Libre.<sup>24</sup> Without mentioning Prozor's name, Antoine comments on this letter: "The truth is that we never thought of doing violence to Ibsen's play; there never was any question of anything except abbreviating a text whose fullness perhaps made us fear that some parts might seem unduly prolonged."<sup>25</sup> Apart from the question of the merits of his translation, we may plausibly conjecture that Prozor, whom Miss Reque characterizes as a theosophist and mystic, influenced by the symbolist movement, must have been personally antipathetic to the realistic Antoine.

In the end, Antoine intrusted the task of making an entirely new version to Rodolphe Darzens, a member of the Théâtre-Libre group who was himself to become the director of an important 'scène d'avant-garde,' the Théâtre des Arts. Darzens not only made an excellent translation, sticking closer to both the letter and the spirit of the original than Prozor had done, but he also obtained Ibsen's authorization for its use at the Théâtre-Libre performance, notwithstanding the exclusive translation privileges previously granted to Prozor.

Once having settled the translation question, Antoine lost no time in fixing the date and making announcement of the performance. The long preliminaries had aroused much discussion and the keenest curiosity. Antoine, with his great talent for publicity, made the most of this interest; he even attempted to bring Ibsen to Paris for the occasion, but in this he was unsuccessful. He admits that in the course of the play's preparation he made cuts, "but taking care not to touch anything essential." The rôle of Mrs. Alving was assigned to Mlle Barny, while for

<sup>23</sup> *Le Théâtre*, pp. 248-249.

<sup>24</sup> See Reque, *op. cit.*, p. 35, footnote 33.

<sup>25</sup> Antoine, *Souvenirs*, p. 174.



himself Antoine reserved that of Oswald, "the most beautiful rôle that an actor might play."<sup>26</sup>

*Ghosts* (*Les Revenants*), according to the practice of the Théâtre-Libre, was performed twice, on May 29 and 30, 1890, the first performance being the dress rehearsal. The following entry is found in Antoine's diary under date of May 30:

We played *Ghosts* last night. I believe that it made a profound impression on some; for the majority of the audience, astonishment was followed by boredom; however, in the last scenes, a veritable anguish gripped the assembly. I can speak of it only by hearsay, because, for my part, I experienced a phenomenon as yet unknown, the almost total loss of my personality; from the second act on, I don't remember anything, neither the public nor the effect of the performance, and when the curtain had fallen, I found myself shaking, unnerved, and incapable of regaining my self-control for some time.<sup>27</sup>

The acting of Antoine in the closing scenes of the play seems, indeed, to have been the one redeeming feature; the critics are well-nigh unanimous in declaring the performance as a whole worse than mediocre. From the review of Sarcey, at this time dean of French dramatic critics, we learn that the customary Théâtre-Libre technique of turning away from the audience and speaking in low tones was employed, in spite of the fact that in this play every word of the dialogue is significant. Other critics, though generally more favorably disposed than Sarcey, joined him in charging that the play was too obscure and illogical for the French taste; and this was the first note of the "fogs of the North" theme which was to dominate Ibsen criticism in France for a decade.

*Ghosts* continued to hold a place in the repertory of the Théâtre-Libre, partly because Antoine recognized that in no rôle was he more effective than in that of Oswald. In 1892, his troupe made a short visit to Italy, giving a number of performances at Milan and Turin. In spite of a successful initial performance of Brieux's *Blanchette*, the Italian critics withheld their approval until Antoine had demonstrated that he could play the part of Oswald as well as did their own favorite actor, Ermete

<sup>26</sup> *Souvenirs*, p. 181.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Zacconi.<sup>28</sup> In his several tours of the provinces, also, Antoine featured *Ghosts*, playing it, he tells us, more than a hundred times there and in foreign countries. In this connection he further states: "The strange thing is that it is Ibsen, with his *Ghosts*, who seems to have stirred up the public most."<sup>29</sup> When *Ghosts* was performed at the Théâtre Antoine in 1898, the play was very well received; and in December 1903, three successive performances drew capacity audiences, much to the surprise of Antoine.

When, later on, Antoine became the director of the state-subsidized Odéon, he gave Ibsen his first official recognition in France by performing *Ghosts*, February 24, 1912. For the final 'consecration' at the Comédie-Française, Ibsen had to wait nearly ten years more; and then the play selected for performance was not the controversial *Ghosts*, but *An Enemy of the People*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON SCANDINAVI-  
ANA IN THE LIBRARIES OF THE  
UNITED STATES

WM. H. CARLSON, *Librarian*  
*University of Arizona*

IN THE August 1939 issue of *Scandinavian Studies* (Vol. XV) was published the writer's survey of Scandinaviana in the libraries of the United States. In that article all persons knowing of important library collections of Scandinavian materials not there discussed were invited to forward information concerning them to the writer. Criticism and correction of the data set forth in the article were also asked for, with the statement that all new or corrected information would be embodied in a supplementary article. This additional article is now here presented.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of considerable correspondence since 1939 it is evident that the first article was successful in locating most of the major collections of Scandinaviana and, with one or two exceptions, in fairly accurately portraying their nature and content. Only six collections, those at the University of Michigan, Grand View College at Des Moines, Iowa, Dana College at Blair, Nebraska, the University of Kansas, the University of Washington at Seattle, and Amherst College, can be added, on the basis of data now at hand, to those included in the 1939 survey.

Of these, one of the more important, particularly because it represents a section of the country not included in the earlier survey, is the collection at the University of Washington. It contains a total of more than 2,200 volumes, of which 42 deal with Scandinavians in America, 986 with Swedish literature, 976 with Danish and Norwegian literature, 110 with Scandinavian history, and 93 with the Scandinavian languages. In addition, publications in Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian are well represented in the strong collections on fisheries, oceanography, and anthropology which is being developed by the University.

<sup>1</sup> All the data secured by correspondence comes from librarians or others intimately concerned with the development of the various collections. Footnote citations as to the source of this data, except where direct quotation is made, will be dispensed with in this article.

While private collections were not within the original scope of this survey, it seems appropriate to record the unusually strong private collection of Professor Edwin J. Vickner of the University of Washington, which includes approximately 1,400 volumes of Scandinaviana covering many subjects, but with emphasis on belles-lettres. Fine bindings, for which Professor Vickner expresses a particular love, are a feature of this collection.

The largest of the Middle Western collections not recorded in the first paper is that of Grand View College, at Des Moines. It contains approximately 2,900 volumes, chiefly Danish, of which more than one-third are devoted to theology. Of the remainder, 863 volumes are Scandinavian literary works, including poetry, drama, and literary history. The Library has 30 rare editions, a Grundtvig collection of 169 volumes, and a miscellaneous group of 400 volumes, containing biography, travel, customs, Danish history and culture, and general reference books. Because more and more of its students do not read the Danish language, and to some extent, because of the current difficulty in securing books from Europe, the college is not now adding to this collection so rapidly as formerly. The research value of this and similar collections is indicated by the fact that two graduate students from Iowa State College, seeking material on the cultural background of the Scandinavian people "during the Struense period," and who had made an extended search for this information, found what they needed in the collection.

Another Danish collection of importance is that of Dana College at Blair, Nebraska. It contains 1,874 volumes, of which all but a very few are in Danish. There are approximately 750 volumes dealing with theology, 500 dealing with classical and modern literature, 50 dealing with linguistics, and 75 essays. There are a number of early imprints, the oldest of which goes back to 1595. The Library also contains a half dozen Danish-American church periodicals. In addition it houses the archives of the United Danish Evangelical Church of America, which contains some manuscripts pertaining to the early history of the Synod.

The University of Michigan has only recently begun acquir-

ing Scandinaviana. Ten years ago it had only the collected works of Strindberg. Now it has the following books classified specifically as Scandinavian languages and literature: 110 volumes dealing with languages and literature in general, 305 Icelandic, 719 Swedish, and 1,145 Danish and Norwegian, making a total of 2,279. This substantial recent growth has been achieved in spite of the fact that courses in Scandinavian literature have not been stressed at the University.

The University of Kansas reports a small collection of 450 volumes in the literatures and 140 dealing with philology, with only slow growth taking place. Amherst College has a minor collection, containing 294 volumes in Scandinavian literature and philology, which are a part of a larger collection of comparative linguistics and literature, known as the Sprague-Smith Collection.

*The New York Public Library Collection*

In the 1939 survey attention was called, in a brief statement of one sentence, to a collection of some 2,000 volumes in the circulation department of the New York Public Library. Through the kind assistance of Mr. Charles F. McCombs, Superintendent of the Main Reading Room of the Library, it has been learned that this statement does not by any means do justice to the Scandinavian holdings, and that instead of having a minor collection, the Library has one of the most important collections in the entire country. In addition to the volumes in the circulation department it has more than 20,000 volumes in its reference department, classified in sections devoted solely to Scandinavian history, languages, and literature, and it is also reasonably strong in the official publications of the Scandinavian countries.

Scandinavian historical literature is especially strong in works in the Scandinavian languages. In its selection of general works the Library has chosen mainly the important treatises, including many of the large historical works published during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Description, travel, social life, and geography of the Scandinavian countries are well represented. Royal biographies are present, including

interesting materials relating to Gustavus Adolphus, Christina of Sweden, and other rulers. In history the collection is characterized as excellent in general Scandinavian, very good for Sweden and Iceland, and good for Norway and Denmark.

Probably the most important feature of the collection are periodical and society publications. Among them are the *Historiske Tidsskrift*, issued by the Danske Historiske Forening, 1840 to date; *Danske Magazine*, 1794 to date; *Memoires* of the Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord (Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab), 1866 to date, and various series of its *Aarbøger*, from their commencement to date; the *Redogørelse* of the Kulturhistoriska Föreningen för Södra Sverige, 1885 to date; *Samlinger* of the Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet, 1844-1862; the *Skrifter* of the Norwegian Kjeldeskriftfondet, 1858 to date; the *Meddelanden* of the Swedish Riksarkivet, 1875 to date. There are also the various publications of the Kungliga Vitterhets- Historie-och Antikvitetsakademien, Stockholm, and many other general titles of national scope as well as others relating to various cities, dioceses, and other localities.

In content these publications are varied and together constitute a rich collection of sources for Scandinavian history. There is also considerable related material dealing with the Norman periods of various countries, such as England, Norse discovery of America, and Scandinavians in America, a subject on which the Brooklyn newspaper *Nordisk Tidende* is aiding in collecting. There is also an interesting group of material on the vikings, although the Library is not yet systematically collecting literature on this subject.<sup>2</sup>

The Library contains over 15,000 volumes in both Scandinavian and Finnish languages and literature. This section of the Library is described as generally adequate, with few important titles lacking among histories and works of criticism. The philological section is strong, with periodicals, both in philology and literature, an important feature.

The literary productions of the Scandinavian countries are well represented. The Library attempts to have the sagas and

<sup>2</sup> *New York Public Library Bulletin*, 40 (1936), pp. 369-370.

other literary classics in their best textual form, either in collections or as individual publications. It has representative works of individual authors, including contemporaries, with about one-third of the works devoted to drama. In relative strength Danish material probably exceeds both Norwegian and Swedish. Danish literary periodicals are especially strong, from the Holberg period through the 'Age of Enlightenment,' the 'Golden age,' and the 'Age of Realism.' Finnish materials include both Finnish and Swedish-Finnish, and are particularly interesting for files of periodicals, many present in complete and long sets.<sup>3</sup>

This rich collection is described in detail because it is the only important public library research collection of which the writer has been able to learn. From the foregoing data it is evident that it rivals the more important university collections in the country. Certainly it is one about which all students of things Scandinavian should know.

*The University of Minnesota Scandinavian Collection*

In the 1939 survey the important collection at the University of Minnesota was discussed in some detail. It was characterized as containing, next to Cornell and Harvard, the largest collection of belles-lettres in the United States. All that was then said was based on estimates. Since that time the Library has, under the supervision of Miss Sarah Lawson, had a careful inventory of its Scandinavian holdings made, which indicates that the earlier estimates were very conservative indeed. Classified by the language in which written, the Library has, in its cataloged titles, 3,860 in Danish, 265 in Finnish, 358 in Icelandic, 4,006 in Norwegian, 4,214 in Swedish, and 176 in general, that is, not limited to one language. This makes a total of 12,880 cataloged titles, containing 26,283 volumes in the Scandinavian languages.

When the broader classification of books translated into and from the Scandinavian languages, books about Scandinavians, and Scandinavian government documents, cataloged and uncataloged, is applied, the inventory shows 14,610 titles in Scan-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 41 (1937), p. 507.

dinavian and Finnish, and 1,050 about Scandinavians and Finns. All this adds up to 18,442 titles, containing 38,730 volumes, of which 5,266 titles are uncataloged. In the entire collection, the books devoted to Finland and Finnish literature constitute only a very minor portion, as is indicated by the number of cataloged Finnish titles noted in the previous paragraph. The Library points out that its "books about" inventory did not include several major divisions of the Dewey classification, and that if these are taken into account its holdings are well in excess of 40,000 volumes, of which about 34,600 are in Scandinavian or in Finnish.

This careful and detailed inventory reveals that the University of Minnesota owns what is probably the largest and most important collection of Scandinaviana in the United States, and quite likely, anywhere outside the Scandinavian countries. It shows too that the Library has been acquiring materials much more rapidly than it has been able to organize them. The collection is adding to its pre-eminence by steady and continual growth.

#### *Scandinavian Literature at the University of Illinois*

At the University of Illinois, too, Miss Clarissa Lewis has this year made a careful inventory of those subject divisions of the classification deemed most likely to contain Scandinavian books, which shows a very substantial increase over the 1939 survey. This inventory, which is restricted to books written in the Scandinavian languages only, shows 761 titles in Danish, 396 in Norwegian, and 506 in Swedish, making a total of 1,663 titles, containing 5,740 volumes. In the field of literature alone the inventory shows 487 Danish-Norwegian titles, 184 Old Norse, and 190 Swedish, or a total of 861 literature titles, amounting to 2,236 volumes, an increase of 814 volumes over the 1939 survey. If translations, "books about," and all the classification divisions of the Library were included, the total figure of 5,740 volumes would undoubtedly be increased by several thousand. These figures indicate that the University of Illinois collection should be considered as being among the most important in the Middle West.



In commenting on this inventory Miss Lewis says:

It will be noted that the number of volumes is nearly 2,000 more than in 1937. There has been a considerable increase in the field of general bibliography and more especially in the field of publications of learned societies in which we are trying to build up as complete a collection as possible. There has also been a large increase in the number of volumes in the field of Scandinavian literature. Dr. Walter Johnson is aiming to include the works of all Swedish authors of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, and to purchase as many Swedish literary periodicals as possible. Prof. Henning Larsen is especially interested in Scandinavian folk-lore and philology. In fact philology and paleography in the general field of Scandinavian, and particularly as regards Old Norse and Old Icelandic, is unusually well represented, not only by standard and monographic works, but also by facsimiles, both in print and in photographs.<sup>4</sup>

*The Collection at Luther College*

Mr. Karl T. Jacobson, the Librarian of Luther College, reports an addition of about 1,000 volumes to the publications of Norwegian Americans, in Norwegian and English, bringing this division of the Library up to more than 5,000 volumes. Of other Scandinaviana there have been added about one thousand volumes, part of this including material from older collections which had been waiting to be assimilated into the Library.

Mr. Jacobson reports the addition of two interesting manuscript items, the list of books, loan records, and membership list of two early parish libraries, one established in Allmakee County, Iowa, in the early eighteen-seventies by Rev. O. J. Hjort and called "Paint Creek og Lansing Almue Bibliotek"; and the other at Spring Prairie, Wisconsin (about fifteen miles north of Madison), in 1852, by Rev. H. A. Preus. The former has been discussed by Dr. H. F. Swanson in *Norwegian American Historical Association Studies and Records* (1940, 11: 57-65), and the latter by Mr. Adsem in *Decorah Posten*, Dec. 20, 1940. Other important manuscript material includes the letters and papers of Dr. Laur Larson, contained in three large cartons and several letter files. These have been only partially organized and assimilated by the Library.

An item of particular interest in the Library is an early eighteenth century edition of Samuel Brun's "Den Siungende Tidsfordriv" published in Bergen, of which the last three pages

<sup>4</sup> Excerpt from Miss Lewis' typescript inventory report to the Librarian of Illinois University.

were missing. This work corresponds exactly with one owned by the University of Oslo, which is recorded in *Bibliotheca Norvegica* with the following note: "Universitetets eksemplar, det eneste kjendte, mangler titelblad." The Luther copy possessed the title page. Consequently, by correspondence with Dr. Munthe, the internationally famous Librarian of Oslo University, Luther College secured photostats of the three missing last leaves, and in exchange furnished Oslo with a photostat of its missing title page. This bit of bibliographical history is of more than ordinary interest because it indicates the presence in this country, even in the less wealthy institutions, of Scandinavian book rarities, scarce, or possibly not existing at all, in the Scandinavian countries.

*Minnesota Historical Society Scandinaviana*

The Minnesota Historical Society Library, while adding no material of outstanding significance to its Scandinavian materials, reports steady growth. Included in this are 230 "America Letters" written by Norwegian immigrants to friends and relatives in Norway, and copied from the originals in Norway by Arne Odd Johnsen. These include letters from northern Iowa, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Spring Grove, Byron, Minneapolis, and Blue Earth and Rock Counties, Minnesota, which cover the period from 1857 to 1931. Among them are 23 by Laurits S. Swenson, at various times United States Minister to Denmark, Switzerland, and Norway, written to Erling Baekkestad, his former school teacher in Norway.<sup>5</sup>

The Library has also acquired a large collection of the papers of Hans Mattson, immigration agent, journalist, Minnesota Secretary of State, and United States Consul at Calcutta. Included in this collection are many by Mattson's son-in-law, Mr. Luth Jaeger, well-known Norwegian-American journalist.<sup>6</sup>

The Library has also acquired 22 volumes, covering the period 1872-1926 of the Trinity Lutheran Church of St. Paul, formerly called the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Church.<sup>7</sup> It has also copied on film the large illustrated scrap

<sup>5</sup> *Minnesota History*, 18 (1937), p. 316; 19 (1938), pp. 97, 210-211; 21 (1939), pp. 85-86.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 (1939), pp. 191-192.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 (1939), p. 193.

book of Mr. Axel Lindegard of Hallock, Minnesota, covering the period from his immigration from Sweden late in 1880. This volume, partly in Swedish manuscript, contains pictorial and descriptive material on the compiler's home, relatives and friends in Sweden, and events connected with the growth of Hallock.<sup>8</sup> The Library has also had photostated, from the rare copy in the Royal Library of Stockholm, the immigration pamphlet "Staten Minnesota i Nord Amerika. Dess innebyggare, klimat och beskaf-fenhet" published in Copenhagen in 1868 and written by August Lindbergh, grandfather of Charles Lindbergh. "The pamphlet consists of 16 pages of facts and figures about Minnesota as a place to which Swedes are advised to immigrate. It is a dignified, straightforward, and honest appraisal of Minnesota."<sup>9</sup>

*The Collection at Yale University*

Yale University has made no outstanding purchases recently, but has continued to acquire the more necessary items in literature, criticism, history, and belles-lettres, and to fill as many gaps in existing sets as possible. Because Scandinavian materials are scattered, an accurate count of them is difficult. A partial inventory in May 1941 revealed 183 titles of Scandinavian learned societies and general publications, containing about 3,000 volumes; 2,322 history, description, and travel titles, with 3,892 volumes; 2,400 literature titles, with 3,777 volumes; making a total of 4,905 titles containing 10,669 volumes. Adding to this the file of Swedish dissertations, dating largely from 1620-1800, and which number 22,000, we get an approximate figure of 32,669 volumes in the collection. This does not include a number of manuscripts and letters and Scandinavian rarities in the Rare Book Room, some of which date back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, nor Scandinavian materials in art, bibliography, church history, political science, and other subject fields. Professor Benson still characterizes the collection as stronger in earlier periods than in contemporary materials.

The Yale collection is quite probably richer in rarities, particularly those of early imprint, than is any other collection in America. Much of this richness is found in the Riant collection,

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 (1940), pp. 415-416.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 (1939), p. 434.

but other holdings of the Library supplement the Riant material considerably. These rarities, too numerous to be set forth here, have been discussed in some detail by Professor Benson in the *American Swedish Monthly* (1935, 29: 5-8). Perhaps some indication of their value is given by the fact that Dr. Isaac Collijn, incunabulist and 'riksbibliotekarie' of Stockholm, has twice visited Yale to list and study the Swedish items from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

#### *The Fiske Icelandic Collection*

This collection by April 1941 had grown to 21,946 titles. The Library's income does not permit purchase of all the new books and periodicals published in Iceland, but 200 to 300 are added annually. This includes all the more important current Icelandic publications. A second supplement to the printed catalog is in preparation and will be published shortly. The Carnegie Corporation has recently given Cornell University a grant of \$4,500 for the recataloging of this entire collection.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Scandinaviana at the University of California*

The libraries of the University of California, at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, have recently jointly purchased the library of the late Verner Dahlerup, professor of philology at the University of Copenhagen. First choice from this collection went to the Los Angeles Library, with the remaining volumes going to Berkeley. The Berkeley Library has also received from Los Angeles a considerable number of volumes from the library of Axel Kock, which the 1939 survey article noted as having been secured by the University of California at Los Angeles in 1936. Acquisition of the Dahlerup collection indicates that the Library at Los Angeles is pursuing its plans, noted in 1939, to strengthen systematically its holdings in Scandinavian philology.

#### *The Union Catalog of Scandinaviana*

The Union catalog of Scandinaviana was moved from Harvard University to the headquarters of the American-Scandinavian Foundation in 1936, at which time it was estimated to

<sup>10</sup> *American Library Association, Bulletin*, 35 (1941), p. 39.

contain about 65,000 entries. Cards are now received regularly only from Harvard College Library and the Library of Congress, although about 2,000 entries were received in 1939 from Luther College, bringing that collection fairly up to date. The selection for the two libraries regularly included is made at Harvard by Miss Esther Gustafson, and amounts to about 2,000 cards per year. The original rules for inclusion, which have been interpreted quite broadly, are:

1. Books in all languages relating to Scandinavia and the Scandinavians.
2. Books in all languages relating to Finland to the year 1809.
3. Books on all topics written in the Scandinavian languages.
4. Translations of books by Scandinavian authors.
5. Books in any language written by prominent authors living in the Scandinavian countries.

The second category, on books relating to Finland, has caused some difficulty. In writing to Miss Gustafson concerning this matter, Mr. J. B. C. Watkins of the Foundation headquarters said:

The fact that we include books on all topics written in the Scandinavian languages insures us of many works on Finnish subjects. In addition, we should certainly have all books on Finnish subjects that appear in English. With regard to books in the Finnish language, I think you might use your own discretion and put in at least the more important ones. We must have of course many cards in Finnish for Finnish books dealing with Scandinavia.

It is certainly true that Finland has come much closer to the Scandinavian countries in the last few years and may be even more closely associated with them in the future, and I do think that we should know about books published on modern Finland.<sup>11</sup>

This statement is included in its entirety because it indicates the border line in the relation of Finnish books to the Scandinavian, which is also evident in a number of the collections noted above, and particularly those at the University of Minnesota and the New York Public Library.

The catalog is financed mainly from a small endowment and partly from the general funds of the Foundation. Questions come to it from all parts of the country but amount to only 20 to 25 per year. This seems a rather small result for the considerable effort and expense required to develop this catalog and keep it up

<sup>11</sup> Letter of May 22, 1941, from Mr. Watkins to the writer.

to date. If cards could be included in it generally for the more important collections of the country, this increased completeness of coverage would add considerably to its usefulness. In any event, it may be expected that it will be used increasingly as scholars learn of its scope and service.

#### *Concluding Remarks*

It is to be hoped that the 1939 survey and this supplementary article present a fairly reliable and complete picture of Scandinavian bibliographical data in this country, which scholars in the various Scandinavian subject fields will find of real value and interest. Possibly a fairly brief supplementary statement at regular intervals of five years, or some such period, noting outstanding increases and developments will be helpful as a continuing bibliothecal guide for Scandinavian study. With this in mind the writer will welcome information, from all sources, on new collections and on significant increase or development of the existing collections.

An interesting reflection on the collections noted in these two papers is the very considerable part that philanthropy has played in their development. The collections at Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Augustana College, the Universities of Vermont, Texas, and North Dakota, and the Schofield Memorial Library of the American-Scandinavian Foundation owe much of their strength, and in some cases their entire existence, to individual generosity. No significant gifts have been discovered in the present survey, but it is worthy of note that Mr. Otto Lindberg of New York City has given Columbia University \$500 for the purchase of materials dealing with Scandinavian history, and that a Swedish gentleman in Berkeley, California, has given the University of California there a similar amount for the acquisition of Scandinavian materials. The substantial grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Fiske Icelandic Collection has been noted above. It seems appropriate that the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study should encourage beneficences of this kind.

Since the 1939 survey the Scandinavian collections in this country have, tragically, taken on a significance and a value which they did not then have. It is unknown how many books

of Scandinaviana have been direct casualties of the war. At least one important collection, that of the University of London, characterized as an excellent collection, and said to be the "only collection of its kind in any English University," is known to have been completely destroyed.<sup>12</sup> It is to be hoped that similar destruction has not, and will not, visit the library collections within the Scandinavian countries. As the cultural lights of Europe burn dim and flicker uncertainly, it is comforting to reflect, barring the unhappy fruition of ominous portents for our own country, that we do have in our libraries, as indicated by these two surveys, important and extensive records of Scandinavian culture and history, which will make continued free and scholarly study of these important fields not only possible, but very probably of increasing importance.

<sup>12</sup> *American Library Association, Bulletin*, 35 (1941), p. 277.

## JOHAN FALKBERGET

RICHARD BECK

*University of North Dakota*

JOHAN FALKBERGET has for many years been recognized as an author of unusual literary talents. Through his recent works—notably his three-volume historical novel *Christianus Sextus*—he has won for himself a secure place among the foremost Norwegian authors of our day. Lately, he has been prominently mentioned as a candidate for the Nobel prize in literature, and he is fully deserving of such consideration.

Falkberget is primarily the spokesman and the interpreter of the Norwegian laborer, the hard-working miner. Nor is that in the least surprising. He is himself a miner's son, a product of the mining district of Røros; that historical, and in many respects fascinating, mountain-region is his special topic in the field of Norwegian letters. "Der har han sine uløselige røtter, og der har ogsaa hans diktning sin rikeste utspringskilde," observes Dr. A. H. Winsnes.<sup>1</sup>

Johan Petter Falkberget was born on the farm Falkberget near Ruglsjøen, far inland on the Røros moorlands, September 30, 1879. His grandparents on his mother's side, Jon Olsen Jamt and Olava Persdatter, had cleared the land on the parental farm back in 1846. With his characteristic interest in history, not least in local and family history, Falkberget has, in a charming sketch, entitled "Nord ved Ruglsjøen," described his pioneer grandparents.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather's forebears had come from Jämtland about 1680, a fact which is fundamentally reflected in Falkberget's writing; they had for generations worked as smiths in the Røros mines, and the author himself carries on that tradition, being a smith of no mean ability; in fact, working at the forge is said to be his favorite pastime.<sup>3</sup> His grandmother was a full-blooded mountain woman, from the Hauen-farm near Aursund. According to Falkberget—and this is not without significance in his own case—his grandparents were to a high degree poetically inclined and romantically minded. He concludes his account of

<sup>1</sup> *Norsk Litteratur Historie*, Femte bind (Oslo, 1937), p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> Einar Døhl, *Bergstadens Dikter: Johan Falkberget* (Oslo, 1936), pp. 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.



them in this fashion: "Nu er de to gamle borte. De ligger begge to begravet paa Røros øvre kirkegaard. Høit og fritt ligger gravene deres side om side. De blaa Rørosfjell staar rundt omkring med sne og sol,—med saga over sig, det store livs saga, som de to ved Ruglsjøen alltid kjente sig omgitt av, og som kastet glans over dagene og slitet og bant dem med sterke baand til den natur de levde i. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

These words are, as Kristian Elster (the younger) has rightly pointed out, deeply self-revealing; they point to the central element in Falkberget's poetry and outlook upon life, his keen sense of beauty and ingrained romanticism. He is ever sensitive to the wonder and romance of human life, even in the midst of the greatest squalor and misery.<sup>5</sup>

Falkberget's father, Mikkell Pedersen Lillebakken (Liltebakken), came from Dalsbygden i Østerdalen and belonged to the highly gifted Østgaard family. He found work in the Røros mines and rose to be an overseer (*ertsscheider*) at the very mine later to be immortalized by his son in *Christianus Sextus*. Lillebakken married Gunhild Jonsdotter Jamt, and in the course of time they took over the management of the parental farm at Falkberget. He was unusually wide-awake and well read for a man in his position, and progressive, not to say radical, in his political views; in the evenings he read aloud for his comrades *Verdens Gang* and *Norske Intellegenssedler*, anything but reactionary publications in that day. Furthermore, this reading included translations of novels by Hugo and Zola.<sup>6</sup> Falkberget's mother, on the other hand, was of an artistic bent of mind, musical, and a lover of nature. Dr. Winsnes does not exaggerate the poet's debt to his mother and his ancestors on that side of the family when he says: "Tradisjonen fra morslekten kom til aa spille en viktig rolle og satte dype spor i Falkbergets diktning. Han saa sine egne forfedre i toget av de mange jemter som søkte vestover mot kobberverket. Malende og livfullt har han skildret dem i *Christianus Sextus*."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Illustrert Norsk Litteratur Historie*, Sjette bind (Oslo, 1934), p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Winsnes, *op. cit.*, p. 562. Cf. Johan Falkberget, "Lesning i bergstuen," *I Vakttårnet* (Oslo, 1936), pp. 133-143.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 562.

In common with the other miners at Røros, Falkberget's father barely managed to eke out a living. As was customary for boys of the same age, the future poet was put to work in a mine at the age of eight; he began as a "vaskarryss," the work consisting in sorting ore and the working day lasting nine hours, in three-hour shifts. It was hard toil for a small boy, but it steeled him for the long struggle ahead. Falkberget fully recognizes this himself, or as he put it in a radio talk to the schools of Norway, delivered about the time his 60th anniversary was commemorated (1939): "Bergmannsyirket var i mine barneaar meget av et gammeldags slaveri. Og likevel—den tiden vil jeg ikke ha byttet bort for gull. Jeg fikk der staalsatt viljen og arbeidsevnen. Uten herdningen ved grubene vilde jeg vanskelig ha kunnet staa preist for de hugg og slag livet senere stod ferdig til aa gi."<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, these harsh experiences during his most formative years have left their stamp upon Falkberget's social philosophy and literary tendency. His background, his many years of labor as a miner, and his continued association with other mine-workers was bound to make him proletarian in his outlook and sympathies. That is, however, only half of the story. His natural environment, the mountain scenery in its impressiveness and highly varied seasonal garb, was an equally important, if not a more important, factor in his early development. "The visions and the majesty of the Dovre, the magic summer nights, and the enchanting beauty of the high altitudes—all this left a permanently romantic color on an impressionable mind," comments Professor Theodore Jorgenson,<sup>9</sup> and no one familiar with Falkberget's works will gainsay it. His descriptions of the life and the conditions of the miners are, to be sure, thoroughly realistic, fearlessly outspoken, but he never forgets that side by side with the crass and the ugly, there also are to be found beauty and greatness in human life and in the realm of nature. Not only is his sense of beauty ever alert; he likewise possesses deep faith in the inherent goodness of man and life itself. This view of life

<sup>8</sup> "Som Vaskarryss og Skolegutt," *Grand Forks Skandinav*, January 19, 1940, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *History of Norwegian Literature* (New York, 1933), p. 534. Cf. Elster, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

casts an atmosphere of warmth and brightness over his stories.

It goes without saying that Falkberget's schooling was very limited, the work in the mines interfering with any consistent school attendance on his part; but his uncle, the gifted miner, Ole Johnsen Jamt,<sup>10</sup> taught him to read at the age of five, and eager for knowledge as he was, he soon devoured any reading material he could lay his hands on; this was, of course, lacking both in extensiveness and variety.

Falkberget continued his work in the mine for some 10 to 15 years, advancing through the various time-honored ranks to that of a full-fledged miner. His literary interest was not, however, to be denied, and it found expression uncommonly early, for already when he was only in his thirteenth or fourteenth year his first contribution appeared (anonymously) in the local paper *Fjell-Ljom*. It is indeed highly interesting and revealing to follow his early literary attempts as described by Døhl under the heading "De første pennfrukter."<sup>11</sup> The young miner actually ventured to dream about becoming a poet, although he kept that ambition strictly to himself. This recalls the parallel case of the young Nordland-fisherman Ole Edvart Rølvaag, who was destined to become the master-interpreter of Norwegian pioneer life in America.

Falkberget's first descriptive sketch, under his own name, appeared in *Fjell-Ljom* when the author was in his seventeenth year, and many others were soon to follow, together with a large number of miscellaneous contributions in the same publication. Thus from the very beginning to this day Falkberget has been an untiring contributor to the press; in this respect he resembles Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson; moreover, these two great sons of the mountains have a great deal more in common when one compares their philosophy of life, despite their dissimilarities. Falkberget has himself recalled how popular the politically radical Bjørnson of the 1870's was with the Røros-miners, and his admiration for the great writer and champion of human rights is eloquently recorded both in his memorial poem on Bjørnson and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Falkberget's article, "Bergmann Ole Johnsen Jamt," *Der stenene taler* Oslo, 1933.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

in his address at the unveiling of the memorial to the poet at Bjørgan parsonage, August 21, 1932.<sup>12</sup>

Falkberget's first story in book form, *Naar livskvelden kjem*, was published in Røros in 1902; needless to say, it is very immature and of no special significance. There soon appeared another short novel and two collections of sketches and tales; the second of these, *Moseflyer* (1905), is by far the most noteworthy of these youthful efforts, for here are things that point forward, even if only faintly, both as regards the characters and the environment. In the following year appeared the novel *Hauk Uglevatn*; the theme is drawn from the life of the miners, and in spite of the faulty treatment and the stylistic shortcomings, it is clear that a gifted and original writer is in the making. Falkberget's firm belief in the victorious and regenerating power of love, his attachment to the soil and to the common toilers, his interest in describing the life of the miners—all of which recurs in his mature writings—already occupy him in his first halting and groping productions in story form.<sup>13</sup>

In 1906 Falkberget turned his back upon the work in the mines. As was to be expected, he had early interested himself in the Norwegian labor movement, and he now became for a short time editor of the labor paper *Nybrott* in Aalesund. While there, he completed the novel *Svarte fjelde* and, after numerous refusals, succeeded in getting it published in Kristiania in 1907.<sup>14</sup> The book marked a turning point in his career as a writer, for it was his first literary success, appearing rapidly in five editions. It received, indeed, mingled praise and criticism, but was generally recognized as striking a new note in Norwegian literature, in subject-matter, language, and style alike; and more than anything else, it introduced a new type of character—the Norwegian miner. The miner appears here for the first time as a full-blooded individual, an independent personality, in Falkberget's writings.

<sup>12</sup> For the poem, see Døhl, *op. cit.*, p. 76; for the address, see *Der stenene taler*, pp. 95–101. The poem also forms the introduction to Falkberget's collection of selected poems, *Vers fra Rugelsjøen*, Oslo, 1925.

<sup>13</sup> This aspect is treated in greater detail in Winsnes, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

<sup>14</sup> This somewhat pathetic experience is told with Falkberget's inimitable humor in Døhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–29.

Graphically, in sentences that strike home like sharp arrows, the author describes the environment and the hard struggle for existence on the part of the miner, his hazardous life and impoverished condition, together with his deep-rooted piety and equally deep-felt relationship to his traditional task, to bygone generations, and to the soil itself.<sup>15</sup> Side by side with the striking delineation of the miner's life there are sparkling nature descriptions.

Falkberget had now, at least to a large extent, found himself and his chosen field in the realm of letters, and one book followed in the wake of another, often two in a year. *Ved den evige sne* (1908) describes vividly the struggle of the miner Jonse to free himself from the oppressive conditions which hedge him in on all sides, economically and spiritually. With reference to style, the book is a notable achievement, colorful and lyrical. Deservedly, it was a great victory for its struggling author and entrenched him more strongly as a writer definitely to be reckoned with in the future, as one who was steadily gaining a firmer hold on his art and mastering more effectively his special subject-matter. In *Fakkelfbrand* and especially in *Urtidsnatt*, both of which appeared in 1909, an entirely new type of person makes his entrance into Falkberget's works—the drifting laborer (*rallaren*), a foot-loose adventurer, forsooth a rough-hewn individual, but in reality genuine and warm-hearted. Nordens Slaasare in *Urtidsbrand* is a particularly noteworthy figure of that type, high-spirited and of a truly heroic mould.

The three novels briefly considered constitute Falkberget's principal social novels during this period. There are in them, as in his later novels of this character, and one might well say in his works generally, a marked social consciousness and a deep human sympathy, but he is far more concerned with the fate of the individual in society than with the development of society as such; this statement neither contradicts, nor detracts from, the fact that he deals authoritatively and fearlessly with economic and social problems. The betterment of the lot of his fellow-miners is close to his heart, and he has shown his genuine interest in their

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Winsnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 563-564, and Døhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

cause by his constructive work for the Røros mining-community locally and as a member of the Labor Party in Parliament (*Storting*), 1930-1933. His attitude toward the social questions of the day, which is in complete harmony with his whole philosophy of life, is effectively revealed in his significant social novel *Brændoffer* (1918), a gripping and penetrating story, in which the spiritual and the psychological elements are fundamental. Jon Jernblaastr, the central person, finds refuge and renewed hope in the teachings of the Christian faith.<sup>16</sup>

While satire is not as a rule prominent in Falkberget's novels dealing with social problems, this is a dominant strain in *Av jarleått* (1914), a not particularly successful work, and in his effective and widely popular *Bør Børson* (1920), where the profiteers and speculators of the Great War period are held up to ridicule in a robust and grotesque manner. The story originally appeared (1917) in the humorous publication *Hvepsen*, with which the author was associated for many years. The story became immensely popular not only when published in book form, but also later both on the stage and the screen.

Falkberget's intimate and conscious relationship to the past and to the soil, in particular to his native district, is a very fundamental, and one might even say the richest, strain in his works, at first somewhat faint although clearly discernible, but gaining in depth with the years. It was, therefore, natural that he should find a fertile field for his writings not only among the miners but also among the mountain people of his native region. He has portrayed and interpreted them, their natural surroundings and traditions, in numerous sketches and tales. His first serious treatment of the mountain people in fiction, their background, and temperament, came, however, in his notable novel *Eli Sjursdotter* (1913). The action takes place following the Great Northern War and centers around the love affair between Eli, daughter of a mountain farmer, and the Swedish soldier Pelle Jønsa. Eli's father, driven on by fanatical hatred of the Swedes, kills her lover, but she in turn wreaks a cruel vengeance upon her nearest of kin by setting fire to the family home. Undeniably, a

<sup>16</sup> Winsnes is right in saying of Falkberget: "Han er sosialist, men staar temmelig fjernt fra marxistisk tankegang." *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

grim drama is here enacted, but the book is a significant artistic achievement, not least because of the effective use which the author makes of the rugged scenic environment; theme and milieu blend harmoniously.

Akin to *Eli Sjursdotter* in subject-matter and spirit is the novel *Lisbet paa Jarnfjeld*, the only one of Falkberget's major works so far available in English translation.<sup>17</sup> Here is indeed literary art of a very high order, alike in terms of plot-construction, characterization, and style. The story describes the mountain districts and breathes the fresh mountain air and the fragrance of heather and pine; it is rich in vivid and colorful pictures of external nature. While all this is merely the background, it makes a most effective canvas. The novel is primarily a story of human relationships—a penetrating novel of married life. Personified in Lisbet and Bjørn respectively, the mountain people and the valley people are masterfully contrasted. The two were bound to clash, and the story is the account of their struggle, told tersely but powerfully. Here is the drama of life itself unadorned. Courageously and candidly the writer carries his story to a logical conclusion. Lisbet has proved false to Bjørn and to her better self, and she must pay the penalty. Falkberget is too great an artist and too honest not to recognize the inevitable laws of life. Lisbet is an excellent example of his power of characterization at its best. She takes her place beside Eli as the most impressive heroine in his works; both recall the strong-willed and whole-souled women of the sagas.<sup>18</sup>

Ever since he left Røros in 1906, Falkberget had resided outside his home district, but he had long planned to return to the haunts of his youth. He did so in the fall of 1922, upon the death of his parents, and since then he has resided on the parental farm. With his return to his native haunts begins a highly significant and fruitful period in his literary production. One of his most notable novels, *Den fjerde nattevakt* (1923), forms the introduction to this new period in his literary career.

<sup>17</sup> *Lisbeth of Jarnfjeld*. Translated by Rudolph Gjelsness. W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1930.

<sup>18</sup> For a more extended evaluation see my review, *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. XI (1931), pp. 184-185.

The scene is laid at Røros in the hard years of 1807–1825, and the historical background is detailed as can be done only by Falkberget, when the history and the life of the Norwegian miners are concerned. This is, however, essentially the tragic story of the pastor Benjamin Sigismund, and more especially the story of his spiritual conflicts and gradual development, until a new sense of humility has brought him peace of mind and reconciliation with God. With profound psychological insight the author bares for the reader the storm-tossed soul of this gifted man, who is torn between worldly desires and interests and his deep religious feeling and the demands which his calling imposes upon him. The book is, therefore, characterized by a strong religious undercurrent. Besides pastor Sigismund and his beloved, Gunhild Bonde, there are here a large number of excellently portrayed persons, but none comparable to the smith and sexton Ol-Kanelesa, the pastor's unfailing friend and spiritual guide, whose rugged personality and splendid character Falkberget has interpreted with rare sympathy and understanding. As a whole, the story is told with deep feeling, and it abounds in colorful episodes, set in a frame of impressive nature descriptions. Døhl comments appropriately: "Boken er blitt til under en lykkelig kombinasjon av rik dikterisk inspirasjon og en blendende viden, en innforlivelse i stoffet som imponerer."<sup>19</sup>

Falkberget has, however, unquestionably reached his greatest literary heights, to date, in his monumental historical novel *Christianus Sextus*. Here he has indeed undertaken an ambitious and difficult task—the re-creation, in literary form, of the historic past of his native district of Røros, whose place in the history of the Norwegian people had become more and more impressed upon him with the passing years. It may well be, as Dr. Winsnes has pointed out, that Sigrid Undset's and Olav Duun's historical novels stimulated Falkberget to enter upon this great task.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, this impressive series of historical novels is the natural outgrowth of his earlier writing, the fair fruit of long years of physical and literary labors and study.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 567.



The care with which Falkberget wrought this extensive work is evident from the time which he took to complete it. The first volume, *De første geseller*, appeared in 1927; the second volume, *I hammerens tegn*, in 1931; and the last volume, *Taarnevekten*, in 1935. This mighty trilogy, which is conceived on an unusually large scale, deals with life in the Røros community during the tragic and distressful years 1720-1730, which were some of the hardest in the history of the Norwegian miners. While each volume can be read independently, the series should be read in its entirety, for only thereby can its grandeur and depth be fully appreciated. The author is indeed on solid ground when it is a matter of describing the life and the toil of the Norwegian miners. Through many years of personal experience and study he knows the history and the conditions of the miners better than does any other Norwegian author.

The trilogy has received its title from the mine "Christianus Sextus," named in honor of King Christian VI, who was Crown Prince at the time of its discovery, and the action centers around the mine, to which the fate of the many people, who crowd the pages of this remarkable work, is linked in various ways.

*De første geseller* tells the story of the thirteen men from Jämtland (*jemter*) who set out from Rävsund parish in Sweden across the long and weary mountain trail in search of work in the newly discovered mine at Røros. Hunger and pestilence, following in the wake of the Great Northern War, spur them on in their adventurous journey. The tale of their sad pilgrimage is both vivid and touching, in particular the description of the heart-rending experience when they come upon the graveyard of their fallen comrades near Essandsjøen. The members of this memorable group find work in the mine and play a leading part throughout the epic trilogy, or to the end of their days. Starvation and pestilence—for these know no boundary lines—are again their lot at the mines, and grim indeed, although breathing the deepest sympathy, is the account of those long years of suffering. As has been well said, it is the author's great glory that through the varied and interwoven events he not only succeeds in holding the interest of the reader, but makes him a fellow-

sufferer of the struggling miners as well as a sharer in whatever joys and satisfactions lighten their heavy way.<sup>21</sup>

*I hammerens tegn* carries the miners through new years of hardships, putting them once more to the test of bitter adversity; all is not, however, gloom and misery; the sun at times breaks through the hovering clouds; glimpses of bright and warm summer days, such as the mountain regions of the North alone know, soften the somber color of the story and linger in the memory.

Unforgettable in its deep-felt simplicity and sincerity is the account of Tol Olafsson and his orphaned grand-daughter Gølin; he has left her behind in Sweden and finds no rest until he has returned to her and been assured of her safety. Miraculous though it appears, he makes his way eastward across the mountains and finds his small grand-daughter. After a winter's sojourn in Sweden, he returns to Norway together with her and an old acquaintance from the war years, the veteran Brodde, one of the most striking and vigorous characters in Falkberget's whole production. The hardships of the return journey are too much for Tol, and he dies on the way, leaving Gølin to the solicitous care of Brodde, for whom she becomes "a heaven-sent gift from God." The description of the journey of these three is masterfully done, varied in moods, and as beautiful as it is graphic.

*Taarnvekteren* is a worthy conclusion to the series. The principal characters, as in the earlier volumes (unless one considers the mine itself as such), are bergløytnant Adam Salomon Dopp and his wife Elisabeth. Dopp discovers a new vein of ore, but as he lacks capital, he becomes encumbered with debt to the owners of the old mining company and is in the end reduced to the position of an ordinary foreman (*stiger*) in the mine which he formerly owned. The upright and somewhat rough Dopp—a rare combination of practical sense and artistic interest—together with his attractive and warm-hearted wife are merely two of the book's many interesting and life-like characters. Here is a whole gallery of portraits from the various classes of society: high and low, rich and poor, wilful and strongly passionate persons, but being at the same time deeply religious, they most often bow before the demands of the Christian faith. Whole-souled and unforget-

<sup>21</sup> Døhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

table are many of these people. All the characters, even those who play only a minor part, are drawn with a sure hand and interpreted with a deep understanding of their inner life, in a word: with profound knowledge of the human heart and commensurate love of mankind. A particularly attractive and memorable figure is Blind-Steffa; though deprived of his eye-sight, as his name suggests, he possesses such insight and vision that he becomes a guide and comforter for his fellow mine-workers; there is, in fact, not a little of the prophetic about this simple man of strong faith.

*Taarnevekeren* is a book equally rich in gripping and dramatic events. The descriptions of Draaka's experiences and mental conflict during her husband's sickness, of Dopp's and his wife's ride during the night, and of Peder Monsen Rugelsj  en's victory over temptation down in the mine, are not easily forgotten; and these are but a few of the stirring events and episodes here related. We live the life of the miners; follow in their trail through years of unemployment, hunger, and want; become sharers in their sorrows and joys and see them becoming ennobled or sinking to lower levels in their severe struggle for existence. In adversity or prosperity, the author describes these people with the deepest sympathy, growing out of his unfailing understanding of their conditions and their way of thinking; his interpretation is, therefore, entirely free from cheap sentimentality. Here is the realism of life itself, genuinely presented by a master of literary art. Here is romanticism as well, and great wealth of beauty. Falkberget's deep feeling for nature is as alert as ever, and woven into the impressive descriptions of the miners' life and saga are numerous delicate nature descriptions. In short, this great trilogy combines in an unusual degree literary skill and cultural-historical importance.

Falkberget's philosophy of life is also written large on its pages. It is a hymn of praise to honest labor and peaceful pursuits, grounded deep in the author's Christian conception of life. This attitude on his part as well as the importance of this monumental work is well expressed in the following evaluation:

"The author's own faith in the fundamental goodness of human nature, however simple and undeveloped, however deeply

sunk the man may be, finds convincing expression in the various characters he paints. The whole book stands out in our literature like a mountain among hills; with hard and severe features, but covered all over by the lovely, many-colored flora in which our mountains excel."<sup>22</sup>

Unquestionably, therefore, this rich and impressive work deserves a place in Norwegian literature beside such recognized masterpieces as Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter* and Duun's *Juvikfolke*.

Falkberget did not, however, rest on the laurels won through *Christianus Sextus* at home and in other countries. Within two years after its publication he was at work on another novel of major proportions. In a letter to the author of this article, dated August 17, 1937, he wrote as follows: "Jeg har nu gaatt igang med en stor historisk roman om smelteverkerne i tiden 1660 og utover—men det blir en lang affære som mindst tar to aar." The first volume of this work, *Nattens brød*, with the sub-title *An-Magritt*, appeared shortly before the end of the year 1940 and has been highly praised in the Norwegian press. One writer has this to say about it: "Hele dikterverket er en mektig fornyelse som kaller paa barmhjertigheten og rettferdigheten. En bok full av visdom."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Eugenia Kielland, "Three Years in the World of Books in Norway," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, 1937, p. 239.

<sup>23</sup> Ludvig Saxe, *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, januar 1941, p. 21. Cf. Paul Gjesdahl, "Seks romaner," *Samtiden*, 10. hefte, 1940, pp. 604-606. He says among other things: "Her er det kapitler som ikke har sin like, selv ikke i dikterens tidligere bøker."

## THE CONJUNCTION *DET* IN SWEDISH

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

*The University of Nebraska*

N. Linder says in *Regler och råd angående svenska språkets behandling i tal och skrift*.<sup>1</sup>

*Det* bör ej sättas i st. f. *att*, oftare än då sådant behöves för omväxlings skull. Ex. *Domaren har att tillse, det värjemålsed ej brukas onödigtvis*. Oriktigt och fult är att skriva t.ex.: "Han inser, det detta företag skall misslyckas."

D. A. Sundén, in *Svensk språklära*,<sup>2</sup> is more liberal:

I stället för *att* nyttjas i skrift stundom pron. [*sic*] *det*, i synnerhet till omväxling, t.e. *Han såg, det (=att) hans livsdagar månde icke långa varda* (Säve).

This usage is not archaic, as one might infer from Sundén's example, but belongs to the severe and eminent styles.

*Att*, the repetition of which it may be desirable to avoid through the substitution of *det* for the conjunction *att*, is generally the sign of the infinitive, less often the conjunction, which usually stands farther back. *Dessutom är att anmärka, det. . . Hon märkte, att hon förstått, det. . .* Observe also *-at, det: . . . uppvisat, det. . .*<sup>3</sup>

After an *att*, the conjunction *det* occurs oftener than Sundén's statement implies. And when no *att* precedes or when it is not close enough to suggest a desire to avoid its repetition, the employment of *det* is by no means rare. *Man insåg icke, det Bugges teori, rätt fattad, tillskrev . . .* (Noreen). [*Man skulle*] *måhända tro att civilisationen och uppfostran icke heller trivdes, men som man enligt nyaste forskningen funnit, det kunskapens träd ej var någon björk. . .*

<sup>1</sup> Stockholm, 3 ed., 1908, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Stockholm, 29 ed., 1937, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Note: *Först och främst är att märka att det visserligen är sant, det. . .* But Noreen juxtaposes *det* and *detta* in: *Det är väl nästan överflödigt att nämna, det detta ord alls ingenting har att göra med "måla."* Cf. the last sentence in the quotation from Linder, above.

## REVIEW

*The Icelandic Physiologus*. Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1938. Pp. vi+21. Facsimiles, 18 pp. (*Islandica*, Vol. XXVII.)

*Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*. By Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1940. Pp. viii+26. Thirty plates. (*Islandica*, Vol. XXVIII.)

Through his extensive and important work *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 1934), Professor Halldór Hermannsson established himself as an authority on Icelandic manuscripts of that type and laid a solid foundation for future research. In the two latest volumes of his *Islandica*-series he continues his studies of illuminated Icelandic manuscripts.

The *Physiologus*, as is well known, found its way into a number of languages, but it appears that Icelandic was the only Scandinavian language into which it was translated. This makes Hermannsson's facsimile edition of the Icelandic version all the more interesting. It exists in two fragments, both dating from about 1200 and preserved in the Arna-Magnæan Collection, 673 A,4°. About the middle of the past century a lithographic facsimile, not by any means faultless, was made of these fragments, and Verner Dahlerup included this reproduction in his diplomatic edition of the text (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1889).

As a logical background for his evaluation of the *Physiologus* in Icelandic, Hermannsson traces the foreign literary influences discernible in Iceland during the twelfth century. Then he briefly summarizes the general history of the *Physiologus*. The main, and most valuable, part of the Introduction consists, however, of his explanations of the drawings illustrating the Icelandic fragments, and their interest is greatly enhanced by the fact that these fragments are from the earliest illustrated books made in Iceland, now extant. That in itself fully justifies this new edition.

Among Hermannsson's most significant observations are those on the animals *lyngbakr* and *hafgufa*, described in the

*Örvar-Odds Saga*, and the *einfaðingar*, mentioned in *Eiríks saga rauða*; the descriptions of these fantastic creatures he thinks traceable to the Icelandic version of the *Physiologus*. He also furnishes proofs of the English origin of the Icelandic version.

Included in the edition is a normalized text, which unfortunately is marred by some misprints; these have already been noted by another reviewer.

While the Icelandic *Physiologus*, like similar books in other languages, does not possess any literary value, it is not without cultural-historical significance, and it may have had a more extensive influence in Medieval Iceland than has yet been ascertained.

In his *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* Hermannsson treated the early manuscripts of the famous code of laws for Iceland, the *Jónsbók*, down to the first half of the sixteenth century. In the present study, the 28th volume of *Islandica*, he continues that investigation, dealing primarily with the manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of no other Icelandic work do there exist so many manuscripts as of the *Jónsbók*, some 200 in all, preserved in libraries in many countries.<sup>1</sup>

In his concise Introduction Hermannsson sketches the history of laws and of law codes in Iceland; then he briefly surveys the art of illumination in Icelandic law codices previous to 1550, summarizing the more detailed treatment of the subject contained in *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*; this summary, as he observes, is desirable "in order to show the continuity in the decoration of Icelandic manuscripts, and to show the connection between the earlier and later stages of it."

Several of the fourteenth-century manuscripts of the Icelandic law codices are noteworthy for their artistic illumination; the most remarkable of these is the *Skarðsbók* (written in 1363), which Hermannsson characterizes as "perhaps the most beautiful and certainly the most original of all Icelandic illuminated manuscripts." He further concludes that the artist of this beauti-

<sup>1</sup> The 1578 edition of this important law-book was published in facsimile, with an excellent introduction by Prof. Ólafur Lárusson, as Vol. III of *Monumenta Typographica Islandica*, Copenhagen, 1934.

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ful codex used a native Icelandic flower, the bluebell (*bláklukka*), as a model for one of his frequent floral ornaments. Manuscripts from the fifteenth century, on the other hand, generally show a decline in the artistic skill on the part of the illuminators; two codices from that period are, however, of special interest because the decorations include scenes from Icelandic every-day life and customs of the day.

The latter and more important part of the Introduction deals in some detail with the thirty examples from illuminated manuscripts of the *Jónsbók* included in the volume. No less than eleven of these illustrations are from the same manuscript, *Gl. kgl. Sml.* 3274a, 4°, "the most sumptuous manuscript belonging to the later centuries of Icelandic book decoration." The artist responsible for this fine piece of work appears to have been Björn Grímsson (1575-1635), obviously a man of no ordinary ability in that respect. Other illustrations included show that he was by no means the only Icelandic illuminator of note.

Taken as a whole, the volume not only adds considerably to our knowledge of Icelandic manuscripts but also casts much light on an important chapter in the history of Icelandic art. The volume has even a wider significance, for, as Hermannsson says in the concluding paragraph: "The miniatures and book decorations which have been dealt with are not only of interest from the point of view of art, but are also of great importance for the history of Icelandic manners and customs. They are a very welcome source in a field otherwise poor in pictorial and descriptive information."

RICHARD BECK  
*University of North Dakota*



